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Bust by P. Chantrey R.A. H. Corbould delin.

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SIR THO<sup>S</sup> STAMFORD RAFFLES K<sup>NT</sup>

*President of the Zoological Society*

L.L.D. F.R.S. S.A.L.S. &c

# MEMOIR

OF THE

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES,

F. R. S., &c. &c.

PARTICULARLY IN THE GOVERNMENT OF  
JAVA, 1811-1816, BENCOOLEN AND ITS  
DEPENDENCIES, 1817-1824;

WITH

DETAILS OF THE COMMERCE AND RESOURCES OF  
THE EASTERN ARCHIPELAGO,

AND

*SELECTIONS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE.*

---

BY HIS WIDOW.

---

*Sophia Raffles.*

A NEW EDITION, IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

JAMES DUNCAN, 37, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

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MPCCCXXXV.

LONDON :  
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS,  
Stamford Street.



TO  
HIS EXCELLENCY  
THE CHEVALIER BUNSEN,

MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF  
PRUSSIA AT ROME.

---

MY DEAR MR. BUNSEN,

You will, I hope, pardon my indulging myself in the pleasure of dedicating to you this abridgment. It is the result of your encouragement and advice, which I have followed, except on one point; and on that it will be a sufficient excuse to you, to say that I found I could not enlarge more upon it, without drawing aside too far the veil from that domestic altar which, to all who have been admitted to its highest and holiest duties, is very sacred.

That God may long continue you in your sphere of usefulness, blessed and blessing, is the constant and fervent prayer of

Your affectionate and faithful friend,

SOPHIA RAFFLES.

*High Wood, June 16, 1835.*



## NOTICE.

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THE Editor of the "Memoir of the Life and Services of Sir Stamford Raffles" feels that some explanation is required of the principle on which the present Edition is arranged.

Her object has been to omit all those documents and statements which, though necessary to be printed in the first instance, in order to do justice to the public character of her husband, are yet an incumbrance to the book as a work of Literature.

The exertions of Sir Stamford to promote the honour of his country can only be duly appreciated by those who know the peculiar difficulties with which he had to contend: these it would have been impossible on several occasions to detail, without reflecting on individuals, many of whom are now no more.

The Editor is not conscious of having withheld anything from personal considerations to Sir Stamford. She has only to hope, that this effort to diffuse more widely the example of her husband's character, may be made the means of encouraging a spirit of true patriotism in the cultivation and exercise, for the good of others, of two of God's best gifts—Time and Talents.



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The Plate of Sir Stamford's journey into the interior of Sumatra has been unfortunately lost, but all the places he visited will be found in the large map of Sumatra arranged by him, and published after his death by Mr. Gardner, 163, Regent Street.

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ISSUED BY HENRY G. BOHN.

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# MEMOIR

OF

SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, F.R.S.

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## CHAPTER I.

*Early Life of Mr. Raffles—Labours and relaxations—First tastes—Appointment under the new Government of Penang—Duties there—Goes to Malacca for his health—Malay literature—Paper on the Malayan nation—Woolly-haired people scattered among them—Game of chess—Orders for the destruction of Malacca—Countermanded on his representation—Native account of the Portuguese arrival at Malacca—The Dutch—Letter from Dr. Leyden.*

THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES was born at sea, on board the ship *Ann*, off the harbour of Port Morant, in the island of Jamaica, July 5, 1781. He was the only surviving son of Benjamin Raffles, one of the oldest captains in the West India trade, out of the Port of London. His paternal grandfather held a situation in the Prerogative Office, Doctors' Commons, with unblemished reputation, for a long course of years.

Little beyond this is known of his family. The name frequently occurs in the oldest registers at Beverley, in Yorkshire, both in those of the Minster and St. Mary's

church, from which it appears, that three centuries ago his ancestors resided there, and of one of them it is recorded that he died during his mayoralty in that borough. From thence it is believed they removed to Berwick upon Tweed; and at length, in the time of Mr. Raffles's great-grandfather, to London.

Mr. Raffles was baptized at Eaton Bishop, in Herefordshire, whilst his mother was on a visit to the Reverend John Lindeman, her brother, who was at that time the incumbent of the living.

The object of biography is to enable those who are occupied in the active bustle of this world's duties, to benefit by the experience of the traveller who has finished his course; and though the early habits of children may be interesting to the curious observer of human nature, they are of but little use to the reader who has already passed through this stage of trial.

For this reason all such details are passed over. It is sufficient to notice, that in his childhood and early youth, he displayed a thoughtfulness, and a closeness of application above his years, and which many of his friends now remember as the first indications of that vigour of mind, and that devotion to whatever demanded the exertion of his powers, by which in after life he was so eminently distinguished.

He was placed at an early age with Dr. Anderson, who for many years kept a respectable academy at Hammersmith. But when fourteen, he was removed from that

seminary, and placed as an extra clerk in the East India House. The disadvantages which he suffered from this removal he deeply felt, and never failed to deplore. Referring to this period of his life, in a letter written many years after to his cousin, the Reverend Dr. Raffles, he says, "With regard to the attention which may be considered to have been paid by me to objects of a still more general and interesting nature, whether literary, scientific, or benevolent—I have only a few words to say. The deficiency of my early education has never been fully supplied; and I have never ceased to deplore the necessity which withdrew me so early from school. I had hardly been two years at a boarding-school, when I was withdrawn, and forced to enter on the busy scenes of public life, then a mere boy. My leisure hours, however, still continued to be devoted to favourite studies; and with the little aid my allowances afforded, I contrived to make myself master of the French language, and to prosecute inquiries into some of the branches of literature and science; this was, however, in stolen moments, either before the office hours in the morning, or after them in the evening. I look back to these days of difficulty and application with some degree of pleasure. I feel that I did all that I could, and I have nothing to reproach myself with.

"This statement will account for my deficiencies in education: and all I ever presumed to consider myself was—a lover and admirer of all that I could reach in

literature and science. The varied, important, and incessant duties of my public life have always deprived me of that calm and retirement which I have desired, and to which alone I look as the ultimate end of my ambition on earth. To qualify myself for the enjoyment of such a state, I omit no opportunity. The high stations which I have held, have enabled me to foster and encourage the pursuits of others; and if I have any merit, it has rather been as the patron of science, than in any other capacity."

He then proceeds to a rapid enumeration of his various labours and productions of a literary and scientific nature, which will be more appropriately noticed in subsequent portions of these pages. They are for the most part already before the world; and they have obtained for him a far higher rank, even amongst men of letters and of science, than that to which his own modesty allowed him to aspire.

How often do the young, and careless, and prosperous, neglect the opportunities of improvement afforded them! how many sluggishly, with lazy attention slumber through their hours of study!—Let such pause for a moment, and contemplate the thirst after knowledge, the industry and ardour with which a boy of fourteen must have been endued, who, after being the whole of the day at the desk of his labour, and occupied in copying papers of no great interest at his age, or perhaps any age, could thus devote his hours of recreation to the study of languages, and the



cultivation of those talents he felt that God had endowed him with.

Thus chained down, his heart yearned for an atmosphere more congenial to its feelings; his master mind soon burst its shackles, and with a high and noble resolve to devote itself to the good of others, attained the station for which it felt itself best fitted.

During the period that he remained in the office, he worked early and late; he studied, as he himself says, in stolen moments: by his extra labour at his office he obtained an addition to his salary, which was not appropriated to any selfish purpose; but all he earned was carried home to his parents, as they were at this time in difficulties. His affection to his mother was always one of the strongest feelings of his heart. At this time, with that self-denying devotion to the happiness of others, which was his distinguishing quality through life, he deprived himself of every indulgence, that he might devote to her his hard-earned pittance: and in after-days of comparative affluence he delighted in surrounding her with every comfort.

Such a sedentary life of labour was, however, ill adapted to the delicacy of his frame; and it was feared that symptoms of consumption were becoming confirmed: he was ordered to relax his exertions, and to leave his office for a time; he obeyed, and obtained a fortnight's leave of absence. The use which he made of this short period of recreation is very characteristic: he seized on the moment

to indulge that love of mountain scenery so strong in most youthful minds, so happily undying and unfading in its exciting joyous feeling. He resolved to go into Wales, set off on foot, and walked at the rate of thirty and forty miles a day, accomplished his object, and returned to his desk with restored health. As a school-boy, his garden was his delight: to this was added a love of animals, which was perhaps unequalled. It has been observed, that it is one of the characteristic properties of a great mind, that it can contract as well as dilate itself; and the mind which cannot do both is not great in its full extent: this observation was forcibly realised in him; he spent hours in fondling and domesticating those objects of his care and attention. He entered with the most child-like simplicity into occupations and pleasures which many would consider beneath their notice: a mountain-scene would bring tears into his eyes; a flower would call forth a burst of favourite poetry; it was perhaps peculiar to himself to be able to remark on his last return to England, that he had never seen a horse-race, never fired a gun.

His facility in acquiring languages was extreme. He made himself master of French, with scarcely any assistance, on his first going into the India House; and as he never forgot any thing which he had once attained, he always continued to speak this language with great fluency, though he had little opportunity of practice. As an instance, in the year 1818, during his government in

Sumatra, a lady was singing in his house one of Moore's Melodies, "Rich and rare were the gems she wore," when some French gentlemen present regretted that the beauties which he was so admiring were lost to them: he immediately translated the whole into French verse, much to the surprise of all present.

His taste for drawing was shown at an early age, though he never had leisure to indulge it as he wished. In music, he was always fonder of melody than of harmony; perhaps because he did not sufficiently cultivate this delightful science.

His studies, from his facility of acquirement, were desultory; but he was always acquiring something, and was never for one moment unoccupied: later in life, if obliged by illness to relinquish his occupations, he covered his couch with papers on the first cessation of pain, and was immediately engaged, either in reading or dictating.

Little is known of his religious feelings on first entering the world. Early religious instruction was not then, perhaps, so general as at present, and he was not one of the happy few who received it; but, as he advanced in life, prosperity warmed his heart towards the God who led him forward in his course of usefulness; adversity taught him to look to another state of being for the happiness which he felt himself capable of enjoying: perhaps his most prominent feelings on this subject were humility and faith. From his first setting out in life, he gave the praise to God for all the blessings which he

enjoyed, and was deeply impressed with a sense of his own unworthiness. He constantly mourned over his own weakness, and deplored his want of power to do that which he felt he ought to do, and his failure in the performance of every duty: from the earliest period he acquiesced in every privation, as the wise purpose of an Almighty Father working for His own glory, which, though mysterious to the limits of man's understanding, would be brightly and clearly known hereafter.

Beginning life under the influence of such principles and feelings, it will not be matter of surprise that his own exertions proved his best patron, and procured him friends, whose good opinion was at once honourable to his talents, and favourable to his advancement. Such friends, at a very early period of his connexion with the East India House, he had obtained: for a vacancy having occurred in the establishment, his peculiar qualifications were allowed to secure his accession to it, notwithstanding the claims of others, who possessed an interest of which he could not boast.

The Court of Directors in 1805 determined on sending out an establishment to Penang. India seemed to open before him the field for which his ambition panted; and when the appointments for the new government were arranged, Mr. Ramsay, then secretary to the Court of Directors, aware of the peculiar fitness and talents of Mr. Raffles for office, named him to Sir Hugh Inglis, who, from this strong recommendation, and also a dis-

covery of extraordinary qualifications, gave him the appointment of Assistant Secretary, and ever afterwards watched his progress through life with the deepest interest for his success. Mr. Ramsay, in performing this generous act, expressed his feeling in the strongest terms that, although in parting with so useful an assistant in his department, he should suffer the greatest inconvenience; that it was like the loss of a limb to him; yet he felt bound to further the views and promotion in life of one who possessed strong claims from such superior talents and amiable private character. This appointment must, in recollection, when a few short years had passed, have been as gratifying to the patron as it had already proved honourable to Mr. Raffles, and important to the service of the East India Company. It is not necessary to enter here into the reasons which induced the Court of Directors to form this settlement, particularly as not one of their high-raised expectations was realized; experience soon proved that the place was unfavourably situated to attract either the European or the Indian trader; and high duties checked the natives whom the hope of gain had induced to leave their beaten track.

In the month of September, 1805, Mr. Raffles arrived at Penang, in the Company's ship *Ganges*, which was commanded by Captain Harrington, a brother of the late member of council in Bengal. The progress which he had made in the Malayan language, during his voyage, enabled him to enter with efficiency on the duties of his

office as soon as he arrived. It gave to him those manifest advantages which an enlightened man, on his introduction to so interesting a people, must derive from the immediate interchange of ideas and feelings, and procured him the marked approbation of the Court of Directors.

The previous insight which he had acquired into the mode of preparing and arranging public records and proceedings, rendered his services in the formation of a new establishment highly valuable: but whilst he zealously devoted himself to the discharge of public duties, which, by the illness of the secretary, Mr. Pearson, were rendered unusually laborious, he still found time to pursue the study of the Eastern languages, and to prosecute his researches into his favourite science of natural history.

An extract from the journal of Captain Travers thus describes him at this period: "It was in the year 1806 I first became acquainted with Mr. Raffles, at the Island of Penang. He was then deputy-secretary to the new government, which had been recently sent out to that place. At this time, which was soon after his arrival, he had acquired a perfect knowledge of the Malay language, which he had studied on the voyage out, and was able to write and speak fluently. The details of the government proceedings, as far as related to local arrangements and regulations, together with the compilation of almost every public document, devolved on Mr. Raffles, who possessed great quickness and facility in conducting and arranging

the forms of a new government, as well as in drawing up and keeping the records.

“ The public despatches were also entrusted to him ; and, in fact, he had the entire weight and trouble attendant on the formation of a new government. This, however, did not prevent his attending closely to improve himself in the Eastern languages : and whilst his mornings were employed in his public office, where at first he had but little assistance, his evenings were devoted to Eastern literature. Few men, but those who were immediately on the spot at the time, can form any idea of the difficult task which he had to perform, in conducting the public business of such a government as existed on the first establishment of Penang as a Presidency. It would be irrelevant here to allude to, or attempt any description of the different characters of whom this government was formed, the more particularly so, as they are all now dead ; but it is due to Mr. Raffles to state, that he was respected and consulted by every member of it. In his official capacity he gave most general satisfaction, whilst the settlers looked up to him for assistance and advice in every difficulty ; and when he afterwards became chief secretary, the most general satisfaction was evinced throughout the Settlement.

“ Being of a cheerful, lively disposition, and very fond of society, it was surprising how he was able to entertain so hospitably as he did, and yet labour so much as he was known to do at the time, not only in his official capacity, but in acquiring a general knowledge of the history, go-

vernment, and local interests of the neighbouring states; and this he was greatly aided in doing by conversing freely with the natives, who were constantly visiting Penang at this period, many of whom were often found to be sensible, intelligent men, and greatly pleased to find a person holding Mr. Raffles's situation able and anxious to converse with them in their own language."

It was at this early period (1806) that Mr. Raffles formed an acquaintance with Dr. Leyden, whose health had obliged him to quit Calcutta, and to try the effects of a voyage to Penang. He resided in Mr. Raffles's house for several months. The similarity of their pursuits, and the congeniality of their sentiments, soon led to an unrestrained intimacy, which, as the knowledge of each other increased, strengthened into an attachment that was only severed by death.

In consequence of the absence of Mr. Pearson, Mr. Raffles had to perform the duties of that gentleman as well as his own, and succeeded to the office of secretary on the nomination of Mr. Pearson to a seat in Council.

On the introduction of the Charter of Justice, for the purpose of establishing a Supreme Court of Judicature, there was no professional person who could be employed as registrar. Mr. Raffles offered to act in this capacity, and rendered most essential assistance in the duties of arranging and opening the Court.

The fatigue and responsibility attaching to the office of secretary, in the organization of a new government, in a



climate which in a very short period proved fatal to two Governors, all the Council, and many of the new settlers, brought on an alarming illness. The attack was so severe, that for some time little hopes of his life were entertained. Throughout sufferings by which his strength was nearly exhausted, he evinced the utmost patience and resignation. When the disease abated, and he could be removed without danger (1808), he was recommended to go to Malacca for the recovery of his health.

It is difficult to convey an idea of the constant and laborious duties which, at this period, he had to perform. It has already been stated, that the compilation and composition of almost every public document devolved upon him; that he had to draw up and keep all the records of the Government; and that the public despatches were entrusted to him to frame. There were no half-caste persons, as at the present day, to assist in performing the duties of transcribing, which greatly increased the labours of his office. As registrar he had to arrange all the details of the Recorder's Court. Yet after devoting the whole of the day to these public duties, it was observed at the time that he passed his evenings in the study and acquirement of Eastern literature. Trifles often denote the peculiarity of character which distinguishes the individual from the surrounding crowd; and a circumstance which occurred during Mr. Raffles's visit to Malacca developed the leading features of his disposition—the forgetfulness of self, the determination to sacrifice every private consi-

deration to a sense of public duty,—the activity and energy of mind which overcame every difficulty that obstructed his course.

“ \* Whilst he was thus usefully employing himself, and improving his health, a circumstance occurred which proves his zeal and assiduity as a public servant ; a ship arrived at Malacca from Penang, bringing intelligence of her having left a vessel in the harbour about to proceed to England. Mr. Raffles, knowing the necessity of sending despatches by the first opportunity, and well aware that, in his absence, the Government would find great difficulty in preparing them, determined on proceeding there without delay, although strongly urged to remain whilst his health was so fast improving ; but it was impossible to dissuade him from what he thought to be a public duty ; and, at any risk or inconvenience, he was resolved on going. At the moment there was no vessel in Malacca roads going to Penang, nor any which could be hired for the purpose ; but still so determined was he on proceeding, that at length he got a pleasure-boat, formerly the long-boat of an Indian, and in this small craft he went, and reached Penang in good time to relieve Government from a weight of care and anxiety, which I believe was freely acknowledged at the time.”

It was during this visit to Malacca that Mr. Raffles first enjoyed the opportunity of observing, and joining with the

\* Extract from Captain Travers's Journal.

varied population congregated from all parts of the Archipelago, and from the distant countries of Asia; from Java, Amboyna, Celebes, the Moluccas, Borneo, Papua, Cochin China, China Proper, &c.

With many he conversed personally, with others through the medium of interpreters. To this early habit, which he always retained, of associating with the natives, and admitting them to intimate and social intercourse, may be attributed the extraordinary influence which he obtained over them, and the respect with which they always received his advice and opinions.

The knowledge which he thus acquired of the different products of the neighbouring countries, of the nature and extent of their trade, of their customs, manners, and feelings, greatly assisted him in the discharge of those high and responsible duties to which he was subsequently called.

The following extract of a letter from the Governor of Penang evinces the importance attached to his services, by the authorities of that Settlement. (1808.)

TO MR. RAFFLES,

“ A thousand thanks to you for your kind letters which I had the pleasure to receive some days ago; and hearing then that there was a small vessel sailing for Malacca, I wrote you a few hurried lines by her, to inform you of the arrangement I had made for your coming back in the event of your not meeting with a better conveyance.

The Scourge sailed five days ago, and is to call at Galangore and Siak, before she goes to Malacca. Captain Barrett is desired to place himself under your orders whenever he arrives; and unless a more favourable conveyance offers, I sincerely hope you will find yourself well enough to come back to us in the Scourge.

“It is distressing to me, my dear Sir, to be under the necessity of stating, in this pointed manner, the unavoidable exigence of the case, but such is the case, that we shall not be able to make up any despatches for the Court without your assistance. This is truly hard upon you, under the present circumstances of your delicate state of health, but I trust you will believe that nothing else would induce me to press so hard on you at this time. And with the exception of Mr. Phillips, the rest of the Board can give but little assistance in making out the general letter; none, however, so little as myself.”

Soon after the formation of the Settlement of Penang, Mr. Dundas, the Governor, received from Mr. Marsden, author of the History of Sumatra, a letter which contained some queries on the subject of Malayan literature. These were immediately referred to Mr. Raffles, as the person best qualified to answer them; and in consequence of Mr. Dundas inclosing the following letter of reply, a correspondence was commenced between Mr. Raffles and Mr. Marsden, which continued until Mr. Raffles's return to England in 1816, when a personal acquaintance

led to an intimacy of friendship, which was never interrupted.

TO THE HONOURABLE P. DUNDAS.

*“ Penang, July 6, 1806.*

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I should have taken an earlier opportunity of communicating with you on the subject of Mr. Marsden’s letter, which you were pleased to refer to me, if I had not expected a few leisure hours, in which I could have given sufficient attention to his queries to reply to them with the satisfaction I desired.

“ Another reason prevented my replying to your flattering reference: I had planned a short excursion of a few days to Queda, and expected from the observations I might make there, to have confirmed several particulars respecting the Malays, which I could have communicated to Mr. Marsden.

“ In this also I have been disappointed, from the circumstance of Mr. Pearson’s having obtained leave of absence from the Presidency at the very time I intended applying to you for permission to go to Queda. The length of time Mr. Pearson may be absent, and the little prospect I now have of the leisure which I so anxiously desire, can alone induce me, at this time, to hazard my inexperienced opinions on any subject connected with Oriental literature.

“ On the interesting subject of the Chronology of the Malays, I fear but little light will be thrown from the dis-

covery of their using a cycle in their dates. I am convinced of the justness of Mr. Marsden's conclusion, that the cycle amongst the Malays has been adopted from the Siamese.

“I have not, however, observed in any of their books that the cycle alluded to is used with the religion of Mahomet; the epoch of the Hegira has been introduced, and with the Arabian months and days is universally used in their manuscripts.

“The first I knew of their using a cycle, or particular names for their years, was from a very old MS., half in Bugguese, half in the Malay or Arabic character, in which were inserted the Relika or times (lucky and unlucky), with tables for computing time, according to the Mahomedan calendar.

“The Siamese, I believe, in conformity with the Indians in general, as well as the Chinese, have a cycle of sixty years, containing five lesser cycles of twelve years each. Loubec, I make no doubt, in his embassy to Siam, states in what way these cycles are computed; and I regret I have not his work, or any other guide, to correct and assist me in tracing the exact similitude between the Siamese cycle and those alluded to as used by the Malays. That the names for the years used by the Malays are borrowed from the Siamese is evident.

“Of the Menangkabus, after a good deal of inquiry, I have not yet been able decidedly to ascertain the relation between those of that name in the Peninsula and the

Menangkabus on Pulo Percha. The Malays I have met affirm, without hesitation, that they all come originally from Pulo Percha: the circumstance of the nation of that name in Sumatra being so great and ancient, leaves but little doubt, however, on my mind, that the nation (if any) hardly known on the Peninsula, must have emigrated from thence, although the contrary may, as we are at a loss to account for the former, appear at first sight most probable.

“ I hope I may hereafter have it in my power to furnish Mr. Marsden with still further additions to his *Semang* vocabulary, although I am not much inclined to think that from this nation, or rather race of men, much interesting information can be derived, beyond that of their actual existence and extent.

“ The men are said to wear a small piece of the bark of a tree, tied with a string above the hips. The women wear leaves sewed together in the form of a short petticoat from above the hips to half way down the thighs. They are decidedly Caffres, or people with woolly hair—to appearance a distinct race in every respect from the Malays, from whom they cannot have in any probability descended. Those inhabiting the skirts of the woods have considerable intercourse with the Malays, but never leave the woods, unless taken by force, which they sometimes are, and sold as slaves. Many of these, from their holding communication with the Malays, speak that language tolerably well; but the language of these people is considered by

the Malays as a perfect jargon. Their talking is by the Malays looked upon as the chattering or chirping of large birds, and bears no similitude whatever to their own. They are found very useful; if the Malay is in want of deer, herbs, particular woods, or the like, from the interior of the forests, he goes into the skirts, generally alone, directing his course towards the interior: as he advances he blows a kind of horn, when the Caffre, if near at hand, and in the habit of meeting him, cautiously approaches, and agrees to bring whatever is required by the Malay, from whom he receives in return a small quantity of pounded cocoa-nut, or patches of cloth; but he is remarked never to take rice, or the articles of food generally used by the Malays; from which he is conceived to live entirely on roots and leaves of trees, on the boughs of which he is said to leap and cling with equal agility and expertness as his degrading semblance, the monkey.

“ I have not yet met with any of these Caffres. I observe Mr. Marsden, in his History of Sumatra, speaks of the Caffres of the Philippines, who appear to resemble those alluded to in the Malay Peninsula. These last are called by Spaniards *Negritos del Monte*, and are many of them as black as the natives of Guinea.

“ I am inclined to think the subject of these Caffres being thus found in the interior of these eastern countries merits considerable attention; as, at any rate, they afford a presumptive evidence that the country which they inhabit cannot for many years have been advanced in civi-



lization ; and, therefore, that the highest state of it existing among the Malays must have been on or near the coasts, and not the interior. In Java there are said to be remains of a religion, which may, very probably, be corrupted Hindu.

“ With respect to Mr. Marsden’s query on the terms used by the Malays for the different pieces in the game of chess, I will state the result of my inquiries among the Malays themselves. The chatter, or chess-board, is avowedly and evidently received by the Malays from the Chuliahs, or men of the Kaling country. The terms which they could understand they soon altered to their own fashion. \* \* \* From the above it will appear that the Malays have altered some terms, and not the others. All I can learn respecting the term *ter* is, that it is a name given by the Hindus to a small temple, in which is placed the image of one of their deities, which they carry about at different times of the year. This term being given to the pieces, if derived from this origin, may lead one to imagine that when the Hindus went to war, they supposed themselves flanked by their gods ; and in reducing the art of war to a game of amusement, they could not do less than pay this compliment. Sir William Jones, speaking of the Indian chess-board, states, I think there are numerous treatises on the game in the Sanscrit not yet translated : from them, I have no doubt, the origin of the word *ter* will be easily ascertained. I regret that I have not a complete Sanscrit vocabulary by me ; but in

referring to Forster's *Bengallee* vocabulary, which is, I believe, almost pure Sanscrit, I am enabled to state something satisfactory. The word *ter* there signifies 'border, verge, utmost:' a sufficient proof, I think, that the term used for the chess-man is borrowed from the Sanscrit, the place of the *ter* on the board being at the border, verge, utmost, or corner.

"In observing, however, upon the manner in which the Malays have altered the names given by the Chuliahs, I must notice that they sometimes use the word *ter*, in speaking of the wings of an army, in preference to *sarsup*.

"Many of the books and popular narratives of the Malays I find to have been rendered from the *Kaling* language, a term by which they call all the popular dialects on the Coromandel coast. That the astonishing number of Sanscrit words in the Malay language should have been introduced by the commercial intercourse of the Chuliahs is not likely, any more than that they should have entered from the Guzeratty, whose intercourse must have in like manner been purely commercial; but a portion, no doubt, may have been received from each. I think (with the Malays) that they must have received their knowledge from the island of Java. I have not been able to obtain, as yet, any knowledge of the Javanese language; but my friend Dr. Leyden, while he was here, paid some little attention to it; and his opinion I know was, that the Javanese language must be a dialect of the Sanscrit, very little corrupted.

“ I take the liberty of annexing a Javanese alphabet : I also add a Bugguese alphabet ; I have never been able to trace one before, and if it is new to Mr. Marsden I shall be much gratified. I have hitherto learnt but little about this nation. They are, I believe, in general Mahommedans, those who refuse the doctrines having been obliged to seek shelter in obscurity. All I can trace of a former religion is, that they believed in a heaven and a hell.

“ I have to apologize for having carried my letter to so great a length, without knowing whether the observations it contains will be acceptable. Should you deem the replies to Mr. Marsden’s queries in any way satisfactory, and worthy of communication, I hope you will, at the same time, state them as coming from a young man, who never made Oriental literature his study, and is but lately arrived in the place which furnishes the means of his observations,” &c. &c.

Mr. Raffles’s visit to Malacca contributed very essentially to the promotion of the public interests. Orders had been issued that the fortifications should be demolished, and the whole town abandoned. With regard to the public buildings, these orders had been already executed. Their object was twofold : first, by the destruction of the works to deter Europeans from settling there ; and, secondly, by transferring the trade and population, to improve the station of Penang, or Prince of Wales’s Island.

Mr. Raffles represented that the population of Malacca far exceeded any idea which had been formed respecting it; that it comprised not less than 20,000 souls (1808), some few of whom were Europeans, chiefly Dutch and Portuguese, the rest were their half-caste descendants,—Chinese and their descendants by Malay women, Arabs, Javanese, and Chuliah, of whom more than three-fourths were born in Malacca, where their families had been settled for centuries. Attached to the place from their birth, they were accustomed to the local regulations, and in the bosom of their families they felt that they were at home, their peculiarities were attended to, their rank respected, and their wants supplied. Many were proprietors of the soil, or attached to those who were so. From their gardens, which produced pepper, vegetables, and all kinds of fruit in abundance, and from the fisheries, they derived comfort and independence; no reasonable expectation could be entertained that such a population would emigrate to Prince of Wales's Island: they were, in fact, inseparable from the soil; and of the offers of free passage which had been made, not one had been accepted. At Penang, on the other hand, three-fourths of the native population were adventurers,—men ready to turn their hands to any employments, who, having no fixed home or permanent property, might by a very little encouragement be induced to remove.

The manner in which these representations were received, and the sense entertained of the value of Mr.

Raffles's services, will appear sufficiently from the following extract of a letter from the Governor of Penang to the Court of Directors, written at this time.

“ I have it now in my power to submit to your Honourable Committee a compendious but comprehensive report from the hand of our secretary, Mr. Raffles, explanatory of the present circumstances of that Settlement, and illustrative of the ill consequences that would result from the adoption of either of the measures that have been heretofore contemplated regarding it. Such information as I have myself been enabled to collect from intelligent persons here, and from other sources, entirely confirms the judicious observations and conclusions contained in this very valuable document ; and it is my intention at an early period to point out to the Supreme Government the policy, if not necessity, here made sufficiently manifest, of continuing the present establishment, no branch of which can admit of reduction, but the charge thereof is amply provided by the revenues of the Settlement alone.

“ To the services and merits of Mr. Raffles, as well as in duty to my employers, I should feel alike wanting were I to omit this opportunity of pointing out to the favourable notice of your Honourable Committee the unwearied zeal and assiduity with which he has, since the formation of the establishment, devoted his talents to the furtherance of the Company's interests ; his unremitting attention to the duties of the most laborious office under this government, added to those of registrar to the Recorder's Court,

which, at the period of its establishment, he voluntarily and gratuitously undertook. Having lately endured a severe indisposition, and the necessity of a visit to Malacca, he occupied the leisure thus afforded, although under great bodily suffering, to collect the information furnished in the accompanying report, which entitles him to my approbation, and will, I trust, obtain for him that of your Honourable Committee. The situation of secretary affords facilities to the person holding it of acquiring a better knowledge of your affairs here than any other officer below council; and I can with truth say, that Mr. Raffles's abilities and general conduct give him a right to my recommendation, in as far as being eminently well qualified to assist in your councils. I understand that he has submitted to his friends an application to be provisionally appointed to the first vacancy, and I shall be happy if my recommendation may weigh with the Honourable Court in his behalf."

When these representations were received, the orders were countermanded: and Malacca, though alienated for a time, was restored to Great Britain by the treaty with the Netherlands' Government, in 1824, and now (1835) forms part of the consolidated government of Penang, Singapore, and Malacca.

Respecting the whole of the Eastern Islands, at that time (1808) little known or attended to, Mr. Raffles collected much interesting information. It was principally on this subject that he carried on a correspondence with

Dr. Leyden. His letters were occasionally submitted to the notice of Lord Minto, the Governor-General, in whom they excited so much interest, that they led to a personal acquaintance; and Mr. Raffles had thus again the gratification of obtaining, purely from his own talents and character, another and a still more powerful patron and friend.

TO W. MARSDEN, ESQ.

*Runemedé, Penang, March, 1809.*

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Two very long and severe illnesses, during which I was under the necessity of denying myself the use of the pen, and all kind of study, and from the effects of which I am hardly recovered, even at this time, must plead my excuse for not answering, or, indeed, acknowledging the receipt of your polite and friendly letters of the 18th of June and 15th of November last, both of which arrived when I was confined to my room.

\* \* \* \* \*

“With respect to the Menangkabus, I am more than ever confident that those in the Peninsula derive their origin from the country of that name in Sumatra.

“Inland of Malacca, about sixty miles, is situated the Malay kingdom of Rumbo, of which you have no doubt heard. The Sultan and all the principal officers of state hold their authority immediately from Menangkabu, and have even written commissions for their respective offices; this shows the extent of its power, even now, reduced as

it must be in common with that of the Malay states in general.

\* \* \* \* \*

“In the Asiatic Researches you will perceive a long disquisition on the Indo-Chinese nations, by my friend Dr. Leyden, which will no doubt interest you very much. I wish we had the good fortune of his local information; he was to the eastward but a few months, during which time he lived with me; you will see what use he made of his time.

“I have by me a sketch of a grammar which I have drawn out, and which I will send you as soon as I get time to correct and copy it; and I am gradually compiling a dictionary, which you shall be welcome to, if it can be of any service to you.

\* \* \* \* \*

“I must now conclude, and apologise for the hasty style in which this is written, the fleet having this day put in here, intending to sail for England to-morrow. You, my dear Sir, have been secretary yourself, and will make due allowances.”

The first literary essay of Mr. Raffles was a paper on the Malayan nation, with a translation of its maritime institutions, which he communicated to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, and from which the following extracts may prove interesting:—

“The island of Sumatra, as well as the islands of Java,



Jana Uyi, or Bugisland, (Celebes,) Sulu, and the Moluccas, which, with Borneo, compose what may be properly termed the *Malayan groupe*, are peopled by nations radically distinct from the Malays, who speak languages entirely different, and use various written characters, original, and peculiar to each. These nations are governed by their several laws and institutions; and if we except the state of Menangkabu, in the island of Sumatra, it is on the shores of these islands only, and in the Malay Peninsula, that the Malays are to be found. Whatever may have been the origin of the Malayan nation, the primary population of these various and extensive islands could never, according to any natural inference, have proceeded from the Malays, though the reverse may probably have been the case.

“ I cannot but consider the Malayan nation as one people, speaking one language, though spread over so wide a space, and preserving their character and customs, in all the maritime states lying between the Sula Seas and the Southern Ocean, and bounded longitudinally by Sumatra and the western side of Papua or New Guinea.

“ The Malayan language may no doubt be traced to a still further extent, and particularly among the South Sea Islands; but that point belongs to a dissertation on the origin of the nation and its language, and need not be attended to here. Independently of the laws of the Koran, which are more or less observed in the various Malay states, according to the influence of their Arabian and

Mahomedan teachers, but seldom further than as they affect matters of religion, marriage, and inheritance, the Malay states possess several codes of laws, denominated Undang Undang, or institutions of different antiquity and authority, compiled by their respective sovereigns : and every state of any extent possesses its own Undang Undang. Throughout the whole there appears a general accordance ; and where they differ it is seldom beyond what situation, superior advantages, and authority have naturally dictated. Many of the Undang Undang contain the mere regulations for the collection of the duties on trade, and the peculiar observations of the port, while others ascend to the higher branches of civil and criminal law.

“ From the comparative rude and uncivilized character of the Malay nation, learned disquisition is not to be looked for ; but simple ideas, simply expressed, may illustrate character better than scientific or refined composition. And in this point of view, however local or particular the subject may be, the institutions and regulations of so extensive a maritime nation must be interesting. Considering, therefore, that a translation of these codes, digested and arranged according to one general plan, might be as useful in facilitating and ensuring a more secure intercourse among this extraordinary and peculiar nation, as it might be interesting in illustrating the unjustly degraded character of so extensive a portion of the human race, hitherto so little known, either with respect to what they are, or what they

were, I have long been engaged, as far as the severe duties of my public situation would admit, in collecting Malay manuscripts of every description, and, in particular, copies of the Undang Undang Malaya, which, with the curious collections of Addat, or immemorial customs, and what may be usefully extracted from the Sejarah Malaya and Akal Malaya, or annals and traditions of the Malays, comprise what may be termed the whole body of the Malay laws, customs, and usages, as far as they can be considered as original, under the heads of government, property, slavery, inheritance, and commerce.

“ On the eastern side of Sumatra, the Malay states of Acheen, Siak, and Palembang, may be considered as of the most importance.

“ The laws of Acheen are peculiar, on account of the severity of the criminal law; and although it may be presumed that they were borrowed from the more ancient inhabitants of the island, they are interesting, in as far as they may have been generally adopted by the Malays in the Straits of Malacca, and may have given rise to that sanguinary disposition, by which the Malays are usually supposed to be characterised. Those of Siak have a peculiar interest, from the long-established connexion between that state and the Menangkabus in the interior of Sumatra. The Siak river takes its rise in the Menangkabu country, and has obviously been the principal outlet from the rich and populous countries in the interior, of which so little is known.

“ Of the Malay Peninsula, the principal states entitled to notice, on the western side, are those of Queda, Malacca, and Johore; and on the eastern those of Tringano, Patani, and Pahang.

“ The states on the eastern side of the Peninsula, with the exception of Patani, which has been considerably influenced by the Siamese, seem generally to have admitted the superiority of the Malay government first established at Singapore, and afterwards at Johore.

“ On the island of Borneo, the several Malay states have regulations and institutions peculiar to each, though not differing in any material degree from those of the Peninsula.

“ With respect to the internal regulations of government, police, property, and what in all Malay codes occupies so large a share, slavery, the Malay states in the Peninsula have been selected, as well on account of their connexion with the English government at Penang and Malacca, as for the still more important reason, in a philosophical point of view, of the Malays being, according to the theory I have laid down, to be found here the least adulterated in their character, usages, and manners. They are bounded by the Siamese, to the north, whose encroachments and establishments in the Peninsula, as they have from time to time taken place, may easily be defined. The Malays seem here to have occupied a country previously unappropriated; for if we except an inconsiderable race of Caffres, who are occasionally found near the mountains,

and a few tribes of the Orang Benua, there does not exist a vestige of a nation anterior to the Malay in the whole Peninsula.

“As the population of the Malay Peninsula has excited much interest, my attention has been particularly directed to the various tribes stated to be scattered over the country.

“Those on the hills are usually termed Semang, and are woolly-headed; those on the plain Orang Benua, or people belonging to the country; the word benua being applied by the Malays to any extensive country, as benua China: but it appears to be only a sort of Malay plural to the Arabic word ben or beni, signifying a tribe. The early adventurers from Arabia frequently make mention in their writings of the different tribes they met with to the eastward; and from them most probably the Malays have adopted the term Orang Benua.

“I had an opportunity of seeing two of these people, from a tribe in the neighbourhood of Malacca: it consisted of about sixty people, and the tribe was called Jokong. These people, from their occasional intercourse with the villages dependent on Malacca, speak the Malay language sufficiently to be generally understood. They state that there are two other tribes, the Orang Benua and the Orang Udai. The former appears the most interesting as composing the majority; the latter is only another name for the Semang, or Caffres.

“From the vicinity of the Jokong tribe to Malacca, and

intercourse with its inhabitants, they may have adopted many Malay words not originally in their language. They are not circumcised, and they appear to have received some instruction regarding Nabi Isa, or, as they pronounce it, Isher. They, however, have no books, nor any word for God, whom they designate by the Portuguese Deos. The men are well formed, rather short, resembling the Malay in countenance, but having a sharper and smaller nose. They marry but one wife, whether rich or poor, and appear to observe no particular ceremony at their nuptials. The consent of the girl and that of the parents being obtained, the couple are considered as man and wife.

“ The Malays of Remban, with whom I have had frequent communications, adopt the broad dialect of the Malays of Sumatra, changing the *a* at the end of a word into *o* : this peculiarity may be still observed among many of the inhabitants of the southern part of the Peninsula.

“ The following is a translation of the Malayan history of the first arrival of the Portuguese at Malacca :—

“ ‘ Ten Portuguese vessels arrived at Malacca from Manilla, for the purpose of trade, during the reign of the Sultan Ahmed Shah, at a time when that country possessed an extensive commerce, and every thing in abundance, when the affairs of government were well administered, and the officers properly appointed.

“ ‘ For forty days the Portuguese ships traded at Malacca ; but still the Portuguese commander remained on

shore, presenting dollars by the chest, and gold ; and how many beautiful cloths did they present to the illustrious Shah Ahmed Shah, so that the Sultan was most happy !

“ ‘ After this Sultan Ahmed Shah said to the commander of the Portuguese, “ What more do you require from us, that you present us such rich presents ? ” To this the commander replied, “ We only request one thing of our friend, should he be well inclined towards the white men. ” Whereupon Sultan Ahmed Shah said, “ State what it is that I may hear it, and if it is in my power I will comply with the request of my friend. ” The Portuguese answered, “ We wish to request a small piece of ground, to the extent of what the skin of a beast may cover. ” “ Then, ” said the Sultan, “ let not my friends be unhappy, let them take whatever spot of ground they like best, to the extent of what they request. ” The captains were highly rejoiced at this, and the Portuguese immediately landed, bringing with them spades, brick, and mortar ; the commander then took the skin of the beast, and having rent it into cords, measured out therewith four sides, within which the Portuguese built a store-house of very considerable dimensions, leaving large square apertures in the walls for guns ; and when the people of Malacca inquired the reason of the apertures being left, the Portuguese returned for answer, “ These are the apertures that the white men require for windows. ” The people of Malacca were satisfied and content.

“ ‘ Alas ! how often did the Bendahara and Tumun-

gungs approach the Rajah with a request that the white men might not be permitted to build a large house: but the Rajah would say, "My eyes are upon them, and they are few in number: if they do any wrong, whatever it may be, I shall see it, and will give orders for their being massacred,—(literally, I will order my men to *amok*, or, as it is vulgarly termed, run a muck among them.)" Notwithstanding this, the Bendahara and Tumungungs remained dissatisfied in their hearts, for they were wise men.

"After this the Portuguese, during the night, conveyed cannon into their storehouse, and they landed small-arms, packed in chests, saying their contents were cloths; and in this manner did the Portuguese deceive and cheat the people of Malacca!

"What the Portuguese next did the people of Malacca were ignorant of, but it was long before the storehouse was completed; and when all their arms were in order, then it was at midnight, at a time when the people of Malacca were asleep, that the Portuguese began to fire off their guns from the fort of Malacca!

"They soon destroyed all the houses of the people of Malacca, and their Nibong fort; and it was during this night, when the Portuguese first attacked the people of Malacca, that Sultan Ahmed Shah, with his people, fled in all directions, for no one could remain to oppose the Portuguese.

"Thus did the Portuguese take possession of Malacca, whilst Sultan Ahmed Shah fled to Moar, and from thence



in a short time to Johore, and afterwards to Bentan, to establish another country. Such is the account of the Portuguese taking the kingdom of Malacca from the hands of Sultan Ahmed Shah.

“ ‘ During thirty-six years, three months, and fourteen days, the Portuguese were employed in the construction of the fort, and then it was completed.

“ ‘ From this time the Portuguese remained in quiet possession of Malacca for about nine years and one month, when the country once more began to flourish, on account of the quantities of merchandise brought there from all quarters. Such is the account of the country of Malacca under the Portuguese.

“ ‘ After this period, a Dutch vessel arrived at Malacca for the purpose of trade; the vessel’s name was *Afterlenden*, and that of the captain, *Ibir*. The captain perceived that Malacca was a very fine place, and had a good fort; therefore, after the Dutch vessel had traded for fifteen days, he set sail for Europe, and arriving after a considerable time at the great country, he gave intelligence to the great Rajah of what he had seen of the country of Malacca, the extent of its commerce, and the excellence of its fort. On this, the Rajah of Europe said, “ If such is the account of Malacca, it is proper that I should order it to be attacked.” Twenty-five vessels were thereupon ordered by the Rajah of Europe, for the purpose of attacking Malacca, and troops being embarked in each, they first set sail for the kingdom of Bantam, in the

country of Java, where the Dutch were on terms of friendship.

“ ‘ At Bantam they found two Dutch ships, and a ketch, and after having taken on board buffaloes, and provisions for the use of the persons on board, the vessels then sailed for Malacca.

“ ‘ As soon as the fleet arrived at Malacca, the Dutch sent a letter to the Portuguese, telling them to hold themselves in readiness, as it was the intention of the Dutch to commence the attack on the morrow, at mid-day. To this the Portuguese replied, “ Come when you please, we are ready.”

“ ‘ On the next day the Dutch commenced the attack, and the war continued for about two months; but the country of Malacca was not carried, and the Dutch returned to Bantam, where they remained quiet for some time, in the intention of returning to Europe; all the great men on board feeling ashamed of what had happened.

“ ‘ The great men in each of the vessels, having afterwards held consultations respecting another attack on Malacca, they proceeded against it a second time, but it did not surrender. The Dutch now sent a letter to Johore, in terms of friendship, to the Sultan, requesting his assistance, in the attack of Malacca. With this the Rajah of Johore was pleased, and an agreement was entered into between the Rajah of Johore and the Dutch, which was sworn to; so that the Dutch and Malays became

as one, as far as concerned the taking of Malacca. An agreement was made that the Dutch should attack from the sea, and the people of Johore from the land. If the country surrendered, the Dutch were to retain the country, and the cannon; and every thing else that might be found within Malacca was to be equally divided between the Dutch and the people of Johore.

“ ‘ When these terms were agreed upon, the men of Johore and the Dutch sailed for Malacca, and after attacking it for about fifteen days, from the sea, many were slain, as well Portuguese as Malays and Dutch. The Malays then held a consultation, and began to think, that if they fought against the white men according to this fashion, Malacca would not fall for ten years. It was therefore agreed upon by all the Malays, that fifty men should enter the fort of Malacca, and run a muck or meng-amok.

“ ‘ The Malays then selected a lucky day, and on the twenty-first day of the month, at 5 o’clock in the morning, the fifty Malays entered the fort, and commenced amok, and every Portuguese was either put to death, or forced to fly into the interior of the country, without order or regularity.

“ ‘ On this, the Malays exerted themselves in plundering Malacca, and the whole was divided between the men of Johore and the Dutch, according to their agreement.

“ ‘ The men of Johore then returned to the country of Johore, and the Dutch remained in possession of Malacca.

“ This is the account of former times.’

“ To return to the subject of the Undang Undang Malaya, the collection of Malay laws, as far as regards the Malayan nation separately, is nearly completed ; but it is advisable to adopt a more extensive plan, embracing the original institutions of the various nations among the Eastern Islands.

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“ The most obvious and natural theory on the origin of the Malays is, that they did not exist as a separate and distinct nation until the arrival of the Arabians in the Eastern Seas. At the present day they seem to differ from the more original nations, from which they sprung in about the same degree, as the Chuliahs of Kiling differ from the Tamul and Telinga nations on the Coromandel coast, or the Mapillas of Malabar differ from the Nairs, both which people appear, in like manner with the Malays, to have been gradually formed as nations, and separated from their original stock by the admixture of Arabian blood, and the introduction of the Arabic language and Moslem religion.

“ The word jahui is the Malay term for any thing mixed or crossed ; as when the language of one country is written in the character of another, it is termed b’hasa jahui, or mixed language ; or when a child is born of a Kiling father and Malay mother, it is called anah jahui, a child of mixed race. Thus the Malay language, being written in the Arabic character, is termed b’hasa jahui ; the

Malays, as a nation distinct from the fixed population of the Eastern Islands, not possessing any written character but what they borrow from the Arabs.

“ With respect to the maritime institutions which I have now the honour to lay before the Asiatic Society, they have been selected on account of their singularity and characteristic peculiarities. The power of life and death, vested in the Nakhodah, or captain of a vessel, may be considered as purely Malay, or at any rate to have had its origin in the Eastern Islands : the Arabs, from whom alone they could have borrowed a foreign sea-code, not possessing, as far as I have been able to ascertain, any treatise whatever on maritime law, or in any instance admitting the authority of the Nakhodah to inflict capital punishments. In this point of view, the paper, even in its present state, may not be uninteresting ; and it may tend, in some degree, to account for some of the numerous peculiarities of a nation generally believed to act on most occasions solely from individual will, and ferocious passion.”

The following letter from Dr. Leyden to Mr. Raffles was written at this time, and has reference to this paper :

“ *Calcutta, October 9, 1809.*

“ MY DEAR RAFFLES,

“ I have received both your letters, and with great vexation have to inform you that Lord Minto is at present gone to the unfortunate presidency of Madras, where I believe he has got his hands full. I laid before

him without delay the manuscript concerning Malacca, with which he was greatly pleased, and desired me to say he should be gratified in receiving immediately from yourself any communications respecting the eastern parts of a similar nature. I shall not fail to write to him as soon as I am a little recovered, for I have been for some time (days I mean) confined to bed by a smart attack of fever. However, I am to-day up for the first time, but not at all able to write letters, so you must excuse me for the present.

“ My literary studies were quite knocked on the head for some time, by the duties of a magistrate in so large a district as the twenty-four Pergunnahs, and I was afterwards for some months also magistrate of Nadeah, where I was constantly engaged in bush-fighting in the jungles. I have now more time, and have again begun my literary avocations with vigour; nor have I given up my eastern researches quite. Now pray do contrive to tell me what you are doing in the literary way, and to get me a few copies of the best Malay manuscripts; above all, try and get me the works of the famous Bugis bard, Saveri-yading, and any thing you can in Bali and Siamese. You have never, I presume, been able to get the *Batavian Researches* into your clutches, but do try and get me the best alphabets of all the eastern tribes. Have you no *Batta* that can read the lingo of the man-eaters? I have got a book but cannot read it. I must be done however and go to bed, or increase my fever.

“ Yours, ever truly,

“ J. LEYDEN.”

## CHAPTER II.

*Mr. Raffles proceeds to Calcutta—Proposes expedition to Java—Lord Minto appoints him agent to collect information on the subject—Instructions of the Court of Directors to expel the French, and to give up the Island to the Natives—Consequences of such a measure—Lord Minto objects to it—Determines to proceed in person to Java—Letters of Dr. Leyden—His account of an excursion in the Malay Peninsula—Mr. Raffles reports to Lord Minto the result of his inquiries respecting Java, &c.*

LORD MINTO was anxious, about this time, to place Mr. Raffles in the government of the Moluccas, considering it a wider field for the exercise of his talents (1809). Previous arrangements interfered with this intention; and the course of public events was about to open a field of still greater importance. In the meantime Mr. Raffles went to Calcutta, and was received with great kindness by Lord Minto, who ever afterwards continued his firm and steady friend, and reposed in him the most unre-served confidence.

The ambitious views of Bonaparte began, at this period, to be more fully developed. The annexation of Holland to France placed at his disposal all the valuable and extensive possessions of the Dutch in the Eastern Seas; possessions as important to Holland as those on the continent

of India are to Great Britain. France looked to Java as the point from whence her operations might be most successfully directed, not only against the political ascendancy of England in the East, but likewise against her commercial interests both abroad and at home.

Mr. Raffles, aware of the plans which the English Government had formed for the reduction of the French island, the Mauritius and Bourbon, and feeling certain, from his local knowledge, that the resources of the enemy would be formidable so long as the Dutch supremacy was even nominally permitted in the eastern seas, communicated to Lord Minto information of so important a nature, that his Lordship was induced to undertake, without delay, the reduction of Java and its dependencies. Lord Minto decided on this measure on his own responsibility; but had the satisfaction to receive from England an approval of the measure before the departure of the expedition.

As this operation was dependent upon the success of the attempt against the French islands, it was deemed advisable that, in the mean time, Mr. Raffles should be sent as Agent of the Governor-General to Malacca, from whence he might superintend the necessary arrangements, and apprise the Government of Bengal of the extent and nature of the force required, and open such a communication with the native chieftains of the Archipelago as would, at any rate, facilitate the extension of the British influence in the Eastern Seas.

The confidence which Lord Minto reposed in Mr.



Raffles will be perceived from the following extracts of letters addressed to him during the progress of the expedition.

“ FROM LORD MINTO TO MR. RAFFLES.

“ *Calcutta, February, 1811.*

“ I am now to acquaint you with my own intention to proceed in person, at least to Malacca, and eventually, I may say probably, to Java. The impossibility of your returning to Bengal, in time, with the information which can alone enable me to frame instructions for the conduct of this expedition, and for settling the consequent arrangements, has been very obvious for some time. The expediency, not to say necessity, of my approaching the scene, and bringing the authority of Government at least within reach of reference, is evident. That resolution is, therefore, taken.

“ I count upon meeting you at Malacca; and then, in communication with yourself and Sir Samuel Achmuty, the final plans, military and political, will be settled.

“ I have no doubt that the communications you will have opened with the Island of Java and adjacent countries will have furnished authentic knowledge of the dispositions we shall meet there, and enable us to place our enterprise upon a footing which will ensure the concurrence and co-operation of the native states, if it does not procure the acquiescence of the Dutch themselves in our views.

“I must tell you in confidence, that I have received the sanction of government at home for this expedition, but that the views of the Directors do not go beyond the expulsion or reduction of the Dutch power, the destruction of their fortifications, the distribution of their arms and stores to the natives, and the evacuation of the island by our own troops. I conclude, however, that the destructive and calamitous consequences of this plan to so ancient and populous an European colony, the property and lives of which must fall a sacrifice to the vindictive sway of the Malay chiefs, if transferred suddenly and defenceless to their dominion, have not been fully contemplated; and I have already stated my reasons for considering a modification of their orders as indispensable.

“The points on which I have been able to form a judgment, with any confidence, are; first, that we must establish provisionally an administration to supply the protection which will have been lost by the abolition of the Dutch authority;—this applies more particularly to Batavia;—that the Dutch may themselves be employed, in a great and principal proportion, in this new administration, under the control of a presiding British authority;—that the two principal ports of Samarang and Gressie must be retained, with the territories dependent upon them, at least till we can form an adequate and informed judgment of the advantage or prejudice to be expected from abandoning them;—that it may be considered as doubtful, in the present state of the investigation, whether

any and what other stations should be kept in our possession; and these are points to be reserved for consideration when we meet, or when our information is more complete.

“ To the native princes and people the abolition of Dutch power would alone afford a gratification of rooted passions, and a prospect of substantial relief and advantage, which may be expected to withdraw them from the Dutch and unite them to our cause; and a system of connexion between them and the English Government may be founded on principles so manifestly beneficial to the people of the island, as to attach them to our alliance, and ensure tranquillity between us.

“ All this remains to be discussed when we meet: in the mean while, take this as a sketch and colour of my present views.

“ I am, sincerely and faithfully,

“ MINTO.”

It will be perceived, from the foregoing letter, how difficult it is to legislate for distant countries; and how careful those in power ought to be not only in the selection of proper men to fill public stations far removed from the source of authority, but also not to tie them down too closely to any specific rule of action.

It can never be supposed for a moment, that a body so respectable as the Court of Directors could deliberately sanction such an expedition, without taking into account

all the probable consequences. The mere object of destroying the ascendancy of an ancient European colony, however legitimate in itself that object might be considered, as a means of weakening a declared enemy, could hardly be justifiable, if it were to be followed up by a transfer of that enemy's power to the hands of millions of uncivilised people, who would instantly annihilate the whole population of their ancient masters. Such, however, would inevitably have been the consequence of an exact obedience to the orders of the Court. It is precisely on such an occasion that the talents, the prudence, and the local knowledge of a distant authority are necessary to be called into action.

It is true that, by incurring the responsibility attached to such a departure from his orders, the individual may sometimes risk both his fortune and fame; but no man is fit for high station any where, who is not prepared to risk even more than either fame or fortune, at the call of his judgment and his conscience.

The name of the writer of the next letter would alone give an interest to the whole of it; but parts are so purely personal and private, that they have been necessarily omitted. It was written while the expedition was still in preparation.

FROM DR. LEYDEN TO MR. RAFFLES.

“ In Campbell's case, I experienced a sad vexation, because I was compelled to send my letter up to Barrack-

pore, for his Lordship's revision, so that it did not return till Campbell was gone entirely. The military queries which I send you enclosed, I regret any delay in your receiving; but the letter itself was only to say that his Lordship was exceedingly well-disposed towards you, desirous of giving you every opportunity of distinguishing yourself, and rewarding you as highly as the imperious nature of circumstances would permit. This you knew very well before, and I was very glad that his Lordship thought it unnecessary to cause me to write you a formal letter on the subject. Indeed, Raffles, he has always talked of you to me with a kindness very uncommon in a Governor-General, and says, that he is pleased with thinking he will be able to arrange matters very much to your satisfaction when he arrives. I am glad that I have been able to keep him tight up to this point. He is still fluctuating between the two old plans of keeping the country or rendering it independent. The orders which he has received from home are entirely and positively in favour of the last. He is required to expel the French and Dutch, and leave the country entirely to itself. This his own good sense directly saw to be impossible, from the shoals of half-castes at Batavia. Colebrook and Lumsden have succeeded in making some impression on him, by talking of accustoming the Malays to independence, and all that; but may I never be a second Draco, nor write my laws in blood, if they succeed."

FROM LORD MINTO.

“ It is proposed to style you Secretary to the Governor-General when we come together ; for then your character of agent will naturally merge ; secretary is the highest office below the council, and was lately held by Mr. Edmonstone at Madras. I hope you do not doubt the *prospective* interest I have always taken, and do not cease to take, in your personal views and welfare. I have not spoken distinctly on that subject, only because it has been from circumstances *impossible* for me to pledge myself to the fulfilment of my own wishes, and, I may add, intentions, if practicable. The best is, in truth, still subject to one contingency, the origin of which is earlier than my acquaintance with you ; but I am happy to say, that I do not expect an obstacle to my very strong desire upon this point ; and if it should occur, the utmost will be done to make the *best attainable situation* worthy of your services, and of the high esteem I profess, with the greatest sincerity, for your person.

“ Your’s very faithfully,

“ MINTO.”

It is impossible to read this letter of Lord Minto’s without being strongly impressed by the kind interest for the welfare of others, the uprightness of intention, and the sincerity of heart which it breathes throughout.

During the period of his stay at Malacca, previous to

the arrival of Lord Minto, Mr. Raffles was joined by his friend Dr. Leyden; who, in making an excursion into the interior of the Malay peninsula, wrote him the following characteristic letter.

FROM DR. LEYDEN TO MR. RAFFLES.

*Gappam, May 31, 1811.*

“ MY DEAR RAFFLES,

“ I take the opportunity of Mr. Kock’s return to inform you that I have safely reached Gappam, and tomorrow I shall proceed to the Ayer Panas. We made, on the whole, a very pleasant journey, considering my expectations on the subject; and I had the mortification not to be once compelled to have recourse to any of my old moss-trooping habits. To compensate this, however, we had a very severe rain for a great part of the way; and the roads, which pass down some very pretty declivities, were so plaguy slippery, that they gave me no opportunity of admiring them, excepting once, that my courser-wight pitched head-foremost over one of them, and I head foremost over him; when, thanks to my thick skull and stiff neck, I sprung to my feet as alert as a rope-dancer, and had a very pretty peep at the landscape before the horse was able to rise. The country, as far as I have yet seen it, is most excellent; and it would grieve Mr. Seton to observe the devastation and dilapidations visible every where. I believe, however, I should have said *delignifications*, instead of *dilapidations*, for never a stone is used in the construc-

tion of a Malay house. I am very much pleased with the inhabitants of the Campong, or vale of Gappam. They are a clean, healthy, stout-looking race; and appear to me to be as excellent peasants as I have ever seen. They seem, from the great superabundance of fruit, to be pretty well provided in the article of food; but how they procure their clothing is not quite so obvious. The soil of the ridges is a light marl, and of the bottoms a deep black mould; and I am sure there is not a more fertile country in all Malabar.

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“ If anything occurs which anyway requires my presence, let me be summoned without delay, and let me hear of your arrangements when they are formed. I find myself here completely at my ease; and that Mr. Koek has made only a great deal too many preparations. I have walked about all day, and done nothing but look at the country. I meant to have put Mrs. R. into a postscript, but have desisted on considering that this is generally the most valuable part of a lady’s letter, and have reserved that honour for Miss R. : apropos of ladies, I have already become an immense favourite of that goodly old damsel, the Pungulu of Gappam’s wife, from having dined entirely on curries, &c., of her own dressing; the lady has not yet ventured to show herself; but I have been informed of the fact, which I hold for gospel. The only thing in which I have been disappointed is in the non-arrival of the fatong whom we summoned. But such a place as Gappam for



musquitos certainly never was seen; in spite of my thick boots I find it quite impossible to keep my ground, or indeed to write a single word more than that I always am

“Your's very truly,

“J. LEYDEN.”

On the 18th of April (1811) Lord Minto arrived at Penang, and on the 9th of May at Malacca, where Mr. Raffles had been long waiting for him in great anxiety, as the south-east monsoon was every day increasing in violence, and rendering the passage more and more uncertain.

From the moment of his arrival at Malacca, Mr. Raffles had devoted himself with all his usual ardour to the acquirement of information on every point calculated to promote the conquest of Java, and communicated the result of his inquiries to Lord Minto in letters which contained a mass of useful information. It is not easy at the present day to appreciate the numerous points to which his inquiries were directed; the various objects which they embraced, the minuteness of the details, as well as the comprehensiveness of the views, prove the correctness, the discrimination as well as the activity of his mind.

### CHAPTER III.

*Account of the Eastern Islands—Products of Borneo—Settlements of Europeans in the Island—Celebes—Traffic in slaves—Policy of the Dutch, different policy of the English—Dutch factory at Japan—Trade with—Views connected with the acquisition of Java—Countries from the Bay of Bengal to New Holland—Proposed policy, chain of posts—Chinese in Java—Monopoly of farms, &c.—Arabs, use they make of their religion—Americans, regulation of trade—Dutch orders respecting trade and navigation—Means taken to keep up their monopoly of spice—Cause of the failure of their trading ports—Former policy of the English objected to—Neglect of the British government—Dutch views of Colonies—Causes of deterioration of Malay character—Piracy—Laws—Slavery, sources of, in the Malay countries—Laws, want of—Propagation of Christianity—Advantages likely to accrue to the British nation from the acquisition of Java and the Eastern Isles.*

TO LORD MINTO.

“ IN my last letter (1811) I referred to the island of Borneo, which is not only one of the most fertile countries in the world, but the most productive in gold and diamonds. The camphor which it produces is the finest in the world, and it is thought that it is capable of growing every species of spice. Its eastern coasts, which abound in sago, also produce a greater quantity of birds' nests, sea slug, and other commodities in great demand in the Chinese market, than all the other islands of the East ;

but the interior has never been explored by Europeans. It may be conjectured that this ignorance of the state of the country is one of the principal causes that no European settlement has hitherto proved advantageous; but has generally been abandoned after a short trial. The only exception to this observation is the Dutch settlement of Banjar Massing, which continued from 1747 to nearly three years ago, when it was abandoned by Marshal Daendels to the Rajah, by agreement, for the sum of 50,000 dollars. The Rajah soon after sent an embassy to the government of Penang, inviting the English to settle in their place; but this application not being attended to, they applied to me on my coming down to Malacca last December, as I had the honour of stating in my former despatches. I shall only add, that during the continuance of the Dutch settlement at Banjar Massing, the expense and revenue were always supposed to be very equally balanced, and that the abandonment of the settlement was strongly opposed by many of the Dutch.

“The only other territory to which the Dutch have any claim on the island of Borneo, is the coast from Sacadana to Mampawa, Pontiana, which lies about twelve miles up the river, and Landa, which lies about seventy miles up the river of that name, navigable by large boats. This territory they acquired in virtue of a cession from the Sultan of Bantam in 1778; they destroyed Sacadana, and established factories at Pontiana and Mampawa, which

they abandoned as unproductive after a trial of fourteen years.

“ No other part of the island of Borneo has been settled by Europeans. The English in 1772 intended to have established a factory at Passir, but abandoned the design on some commotions taking place in that state. Its object was to make Passir a depôt for opium and Indian piece goods, and for the contraband trade in spices. In 1774, a short time after the first settling of Balambangan, Mr. Jesse was deputed as resident to Borneo proper, with which state he concluded a treaty, by which the settlement of Balambangan acquired the exclusive trade in pepper; stipulating, in return, to protect Borneo from the piratical incursions of the Sulu and Mindanawi men; neither of the parties, however, fulfilled their agreements, though the residency at Borneo was continued for some years after the first breaking up of the Balambangan settlement in 1775.

“ On the N. E. of Borneo proper lies a very considerable territory, the sovereignty of which has been long claimed by the Sulu government, and a very considerable part of which, together with the islands off the coast, have been for upwards of forty years regularly ceded to the English by the Sulus, and has also at different periods been occupied by the English, without any objection on the part of the government of Borneo proper. This ceded district, which extends from the river Kio-manis on the north-west, which forms the boundary of

Borneo proper, to the great bay of Towsan Abia, on the north-east, is undoubtedly a rich and fertile country, though in a rude and uncultivated state ; and it is admirably situated for commerce, though the different failures of the settlement of Balambangan may seem to indicate the contrary. Balambangan is one of the small islands off the northern extremity of the island of Borneo, and included in the Sulu grant to the English. It would be foreign to the present object, to enter into any details concerning the history of the settlement of Balambangan ; but it may be proper to mention, that all the gentlemen who were engaged in the last attempt, were convinced that the bottom of the great Malluda bay would have been infinitely preferable as a settlement, in every respect.

“ Balambangan is, in almost every respect, analogous to Penang ; it does not admit of territorial extension, and must exist, if it exists at all, by commerce solely. Malluda, on the other hand, is a deep bight in the island of Borneo, which admits of any degree of territorial extension ; may always subsist any number of inhabitants by its own produce ; and communicates with the great lakes in the centre of Borneo, in the vicinity of the gold countries, by a land carriage of little more than forty miles. From the inquiries which I have taken every opportunity of making respecting the island of Borneo, I feel perfectly satisfied that no settlement is likely to succeed in that quarter, which is founded on a commercial, instead of a territorial, basis. We have already acquired terri-

torial rights, and are likely to acquire more; and, therefore, the only question at present seems to be, whether these can be turned to advantage, either by cultivation or commerce. To this I should have no hesitation whatever in answering, yes; finding the Dayak, or original inhabitants of Borneo, not only industrious in their habits, but particularly devoted to agriculture, and so manageable, that a handful of Malays have, in numerous places, reduced many thousands of them to the condition of peaceful cultivators of the ground. Indeed, nothing seems wanting to effect this on a great scale but a strong government, which can afford efficient protection to property, and safety to the individuals; and in the case of the Dayak, I regard it as an advantage, that they have not hitherto adopted the religion of Islam, and would be ready, from the first, to regard us as their friends and protectors. Another great advantage which attends the formation of settlements in Borneo is, that there are no territorial claims upon it from any European nation but ourselves. To recommend, however, any thing of the kind immediately, would obviously be premature; as, notwithstanding the length of time which we occupied Balambangan, not only the interior of Borneo is almost unknown, but even a great part of its coasts. This supineness in the government of Balambangan is, perhaps, not wholly unexampled; and I fear, it must be admitted that the government of Penang have not been much more active in illustrating the state of the Malay peninsula, or even the provinces of Mergui

and its vicinity, to which their attention was particularly directed in the instructions of the Court of Directors to the late Mr. Dundas, on establishing the presidency of Prince of Wales' Island. The want of local information is, indeed, the rock on which the infant settlements of the English have at all times been wrecked; and the fate of several of our eastern settlements was, so early as the year 1759, ascribed to this cause, by the author of the letter on the Negrais expedition: "Colonies and settlements of every kind must, at first, be attended with many difficulties, which, however, a judicious perseverance will surmount, if there be not some original default in the establishment. It must be obvious to every one, that the English never made a settlement in which they were not impeded by some unforeseen difficulties, so as at last frequently to make abandoning the infant establishment appear the most prudent step, without even hoping any return for the prodigious expense which may have been incurred by the undertaking. Various reasons," adds that author, "may be ascribed for this event; but incapacity in the person entrusted with the management, and the want of proper previous examination of the place, seem to me the most common and most considerable. Without stopping to inquire how far the want of success in our several attempts to settle Balambangan may have been fairly attributable to either of these causes, I may safely venture to assert, that it failed the last time chiefly from its being solely a military establishment, without either professional merchants

or mercantile adventure being attached to it. The observations which I have submitted with respect to Malluda, apply to it chiefly as a territorial establishment; but there is no doubt that it would speedily attain commercial importance. The contraband trade in spices, which was a principal object in the former attempts to settle Balam-bangan, is no longer any object to the English. Many commercial views, however, which influenced the original establishment of Balam-bangan, still exist in equal or superior force, especially those which related to Cochin China, Champa, and Camboja. There are some additional reasons which, perhaps, should require us to direct our attention towards Cochin China. The present King of Cochin China is the true heir and only lineal descendant of the ancient royal family of Siam, which was extirpated by the Burmans about the year 1765, and is considered as such by a considerable part of the Siamese nation; and as the present Siamese government is weak and distracted, it has for some years been considered as a very probable occurrence, that he will soon find or take an opportunity of asserting his claims to the throne of Siam. Though this Prince has derived great assistance from the French in his dominions, on many former occasions, he is obviously jealous of all European interference, and may be considered as more under the influence of the maxims of Chinese policy than of any European power. He formerly treated our advances with something more than marked indifference; and his disaffection has been so



much increased by the result of some transactions with a mercantile house in Madras, that he has lately ordered that no Englishman shall be permitted to set foot in his country. As it is understood by the Portuguese, the only nation to whom any considerable degree of intercourse with his dominions is permitted, that he has lately conquered some districts belonging to the Chinese empire, perhaps an overture to a treaty might be made to him, for the purpose of establishing a tea trade with his dominions, an object which has formerly been conceived to be practicable. It is not, however, probable, that any thing more than a very limited and hampered trade would ever be permitted with Cochin China; and this will be the more apparent, if we consider the slavish and humiliating manner in which all traffic still is, and has been, carried on, both with Cochin China and Siam, by the few ships that frequent their ports from Surat and Macao, carrying chiefly gold and silver brocades, chintzes, and the finest cloths of Indian manufacture; Arabian gums, and China ware, with the richest silks. On arriving in port, the most valuable part of the cargo is immediately presented to the King, who takes as much as he pleases; the remaining part is chiefly consumed in presents to the courtiers and other great men, while the refuse of the cargo is then permitted to be exposed to sale. The part which is consumed in presents to the great men is entire loss: for that which the King receives, he generally returns a present, which is seldom adequate

to the value of the goods which he has received; but by dint of begging and repeated solicitation, this is sometimes increased a little. It is obvious that a trade of this strange nature is by no means accommodated to the habits of Englishmen; and I do not hesitate to say, that it is with the almost unknown countries of Champa and Camboja alone, that we have much chance of establishing an advantageous trade, in the present state of affairs; and before that can be done to advantage, we must make ourselves better acquainted with them.

“ This observation might be extended to the Sulu Archipelago, and the great island of Mindanawi; but with respect to both of these, there are other considerations connected with the extirpation of the eastern pirates which imperiously demand your Lordship’s attention. The Sulus are a bold and enterprising race, apparently of the mixed Malay and Philippine breed. They have had frequent wars with the Spaniards of Manilla, and have never acknowledged their authority. The Sulu islands are numerous, but individually of small extent, and situated between the Philippines and the island of Borneo. They have generally adopted the religion of Islam; and though active and enterprising, are in point of character extremely vicious, treacherous, and sanguinary. They are not very numerous, as the inhabitants of the Sulu islands, in their most flourishing state, could not be estimated at more than 60,000 souls, and, if we add their dependencies, at about 100,000 souls. About fifty years

ago they were much devoted to commerce, and we had a commercial resident in Sulu for some time, about the period of the first settling of Balambangan; it was soon, however, found that the government was too weak to yield any efficient protection, and was forced to be withdrawn. Since that time it has been subject to constant civil commotions, and the breaking down of the government has covered the Sulu seas with fleets of formidable pirates.

“ With respect to the great island of Mindanawi, it is the original source of the Lanuns, the most formidable of all the eastern pirates. This island lies between the Moluccas and the Philippines. The northern coast of this island is under a precarious subjection to the Spaniards. The great Lanun bight is occupied by a number of small chieftains, who have in every age been greatly addicted to piratical practices. The most powerful state on the island, however, is that of Mindanawi, governed by a sultan of the religion of Islam, though the great mass of his subjects are pagans, in almost every respect similar to the aboriginal inhabitants of Borneo. The state of Mindanawi has repeatedly, on former occasions, attempted to open an amicable intercourse with the English on the most liberal terms. For the present Sultan's sentiments, I need only refer your Lordship to his own letter lately received, in enclosure No. 8; and I allude to it in this place, because, from information received from that quarter, there is great reason to apprehend that the military stores which your Lordship despatched to this prince

by Captain Masquerier, of the brig *Jane*, have never been delivered. I am informed that the Mindanawi state is at present torn with factions, but that the sultan still retains his authority in a considerable degree; and I have no doubt that your Lordship's countenance extended to him would, without much trouble, give it tranquillity and stability, and prevent the Lanuns and pirates being augmented by the whole force of Mindanawi, which must be the inevitable consequence of the breaking up of this state. Some explanation of the measures which we may find it necessary to take in this quarter, as well as concerning the general maxims of our policy to the eastward, may probably be due to the Spanish government of Manilla.

“ With respect to the island of Celebes, and in particular Macassar, its principal settlement, it will be obvious to your Lordship that the same reasons which induced the Dutch to occupy and retain it do not exist for the English. From its situation in the vicinity of the spice-islands, and from the spirit of the tribes which inhabit it, their activity and commercial turn, this island has long been a subject of such jealousy to the Dutch, that they have been content to support upon it a losing establishment, for the purpose of repressing the native trade of the inhabitants, and preventing other European nations from forming establishments upon it. But though the Dutch establishment at Macassar was a losing concern in the hands of that government, it is by no means obvious that

this would be the case under a different system of management; the high population of the island, the riches of many individuals, and their expensive taste in dress and other luxuries, would seem to indicate precisely the contrary. It is possible, therefore, that various weighty reasons may be found, independent of the motives which influenced the Dutch, to induce us to retain their establishments on Celebes, or even to enlarge them. Even in its present state, the island of Celebes may be reckoned populous, if compared with many of the islands of the east. It has, however, greatly declined since it was settled by the Hollanders, who have not only followed their constant practice of fomenting civil wars, and exciting rebellions and commotions of every kind in Celebes, but have encouraged and carried to a greater extent the traffic of slaves than in almost any other of their eastern possessions. About the period of the first arrival of Europeans in the east, the Macassar and Bugis tribes were among the principal dealers in spices, and the island of Celebes was nearly under the authority of a single sovereign. On the breaking down of this great empire, several lesser states rose from its ruins. By exciting dissensions among these states, and aiding one against another, the Dutch at last contrived to render all the states of the island subservient to their views. The policy which I conjecture we shall subsequently find it proper to follow is exactly the opposite of this. We may, with great facility, and without much trouble, employ our

influence and mediation to heal the dissensions of the native princes, to establish firmly ancient territories, check innovations, and prevent civil wars as much as lies in our power; at the same time seizing every opportunity of prevailing on them to discourage and abandon the destructive traffic in slaves. To this nefarious trade, which has desolated this island, as well as all the small islands in its vicinity, the Bugis men and Macassar men have in a great measure been driven by the monopolies of the Dutch, which have, in a great degree, driven the fair merchants from the seas, and left the main to kidnapers and pirates. The increase of security in the country will produce the increase both of wealth and population, which will of course cause an increase of the consumption of opium, piece-goods, and other Indian commodities. Had it not been for the contraband trade which the English carried on at almost all times with the states of Wajjo and Mandhar, little doubt can be entertained that the trade of Macassar, in these articles alone, would have compensated the loss which the Dutch assert that they have always sustained from this establishment. Notwithstanding some late disagreements of the English with the Bugis tribes, arising from the impossibility of explaining to the eastern nations the English system of blockade, I do not hesitate to affirm, that the inhabitants of Celebes are generally well affected to the English nation, to which they have always had a strong attachment; and, since my return to Malacca, I have, to a considerable extent, in several in-

stances, derived essential advantage from the exertion of some of their most respectable traders, in communicating with the native princes. The effect of a liberal line of conduct and policy adopted towards the tribes of Celebes, would certainly be to create a powerful and active nation in the centre of the eastern islands, attached to the English by benefits, and looking to them in a great measure for protection—who, without becoming formidable to ourselves, might easily be rendered formidable to any other nation.

“ There is likewise another consideration with regard to Celebes which deserves attention. The Macassar and Bugis tribes are the most bold, adventurous, and enterprising of all the eastern nations, and extremely addicted to a military life. They are equally celebrated for their fidelity and their courage, and for this reason they have long been employed, as the Swiss in Europe, not only in the armies of Siam, Camboja, and other countries, but also as the guards of their princes. They can be recruited with facility, and easily submit to military discipline; and it is probable that better mercenaries could not be found for maintaining several of our Oriental possessions.

“ The observations that I have taken the liberty of suggesting to your Lordship respecting the island of Celebes, apply with nearly equal force to the island Jelolo, or Halamahera, which is situated between the Moluccas and the Papua Islands, as Celebes itself is situated between the Moluccas and Borneo. Jelolo has some-

times, from its form, been denominated Little Celebes; with the western coast of this island we are at present little acquainted; but the inhabitants of the western coasts, especially those of Osso and Maba, with their Sovereign, the son of our old ally the Sultan of Tidore, have lately taken every means of evincing their tried attachment to the English nation. It appears they have lately afforded every sort of supply, in the most liberal way, to some English whalers, and are proud to declare, on all occasions, that they owe their existence to the liberal supplies which your Lordship was pleased to afford them in their extreme necessity. This nation, like those of Bali and Bugis-land, seems worth the encouraging; and the determined perseverance with which they opposed themselves to all the efforts of the Dutch and their auxiliaries, cannot fail to excite the sympathies of the English nation. The three islands of Bali, Celebes, and Jelolo, occupy the most commanding positions in the centre of different groups of islands, and each of them, without becoming formidable to ourselves, is capable of being rendered extremely formidable, through our means, to any other European power. The different nations which occupy them have always been particularly attached to the English; and no European nation, with the exception of the Dutch in Macassar, have claims on any considerable portion of their territories. I therefore beg leave to submit to your Lordship's particular consideration, whether or not every



practical means which may tend to attach and affiliate these nations to the English will not materially tend to strengthen our interest to the eastward, and even tend to render our influence permanent in these regions, and independent of any arrangement which may take place subsequent to a general peace.

“The only remaining Dutch possession to which it is necessary at present to request your Lordship’s attention is the factory at Japan. The information which I have been able to procure relative to this factory is of a general nature; and my observations, therefore, shall be confined to a very slight sketch of its general management. The empire of Japan has for a long period adopted and carried into effect all the exclusive maxims of Chinese policy with a degree of rigour unknown even in China itself. Previous to the expulsion of the Portuguese and the extirpation of Christianity in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Japanese trade was reckoned by far the most advantageous which could be pursued in the East, and very much superior to either the Indian or Chinese trade. After the expulsion of the Portuguese, a very extensive trade was for some time permitted to be carried on by the Dutch, on account of the benefits which the Japanese conceived they had received from that nation during the Portuguese war, and especially the detection of a formidable conspiracy of some of the Japanese princes to dethrone the emperor, which was detected by the Dutch intercepting the ship which con-

veyed the correspondence of the conspirators. It was for these reasons that the Dutch originally procured the imperial edict by which they were permitted to trade to Japan, to the exclusion of all other European nations. This public act of their ancestors the Japanese have repeatedly declared that they will not cancel, but they have done every thing but formally cancel, for a more limited and less free trade was never carried on by one rich nation to another. For more than half a century, the Dutch trade has been limited to two yearly ships from Batavia, the cargoes of both of which scarcely ever exceed 200,000 dollars, and their only profitable returns are in Japan copper, and a small quantity of camphor. To show themselves impartial in their restrictions, the Japanese have limited the traffic of the Chinese, the only eastern nation whom they suffer to trade with them at all, in a similar manner to that of the Dutch, and they suffer no more than six Chinese junks to visit Nangasaki in the year. The trade of the two favoured nations, the Dutch and the Chinese, is also limited to the single port of Nangasaki. In pursuance of their exclusive maxims, and conformably to the terms of their agreement with the Dutch, the Japanese have on every occasion followed an uniform line of conduct, and rejected in the most peremptory manner the various overtures of different nations of Europe, refusing equally to have any intercourse, negotiations, or commerce with any of them: it must also be admitted that the whole

foreign trade of Japan, compared with the riches of the country, is absolutely trifling; nor is there any rich or powerful body of men, like the Hong merchants of China, at all interested in its continuance. The yearly presents, whether offered to the governor of Nangasaki or the emperor, are of no great value, and rigidly limited by law and usage; and as the government of Japan is much stronger and more vigilant than that of China, no such abuses can be ventured on at Nangasaki as take place at Canton. From these reasons there is great cause to think that, if the Japanese fully comprehended the nature of the events which have taken place in Holland and now threaten Batavia, all intercourse between the Japanese and Europeans would immediately be brought to a termination. The Japanese conceive that they have entered into engagements with the Dutch only while they exist as a nation, and there is the utmost reason to think that in the event of the Dutch merging in any other nation they would by no means consider these engagements as of any force. Their foreign trade supplies them with no articles of imperious necessity, and is of no advantage to any great national body. Indeed the only persons who have any serious interest in it is the corps of Dutch interpreters, a small body who follow this hereditary occupation, and have no important influence in the state, and who are required to study Dutch, and to transact business in it, in order that Europeans may have no occasion or opportunity

of acquiring the Japanese language: as Japan, however, is almost totally secluded from the rest of the world, it is not probable that these events will be speedily communicated to them by the Dutch factory, A more probable event is that, immediately on the fall of the Island of Java, the Dutch factory at Canton will endeavour to avail themselves of the opening, in conjunction with the Americans, and perhaps the Portuguese, to invest a part of their dormant capital for the Japan market, and advise the Dutch factory of Nangasaki to keep up the deception, and put the Japanese on their guard against the overtures of the English. Certain it is that in the case of Japan our superior force can be of no avail to us, but rather, on the contrary, may excite the greater jealousy.

“The situation of the Dutch factory at Japan is very similar to that at Canton in China, which, as far as regards the establishment in China, may survive all the disasters of both Batavia and the mother country. The Japanese are acquainted with the English, but they have only become acquainted with them from the Portuguese and the Dutch, both of whom were interested in engrossing the Japan trade, and have therefore, no doubt, taken care to prepossess the Japanese in the strongest manner against the English. Indeed, when Captain Pellew visited Nangasaki, about three years ago, though he might have plundered the Dutch factory had it contained anything valuable, he found

that the Japanese would listen to no overtures of intercourse: about the same time they rejected, with equal steadiness, the Russian embassy despatched directly to Japan, refusing equally to admit of any overtures on the part of the Russians, and to accept of the valuable presents brought by the ambassador. The same fate has attended some late attempts of the Americans to establish an intercourse with Japan; and I am strongly of opinion that there is not the least reason to hope that any of our overtures would meet with a more favourable reception, if not supported by the representations of the Dutch who are at present residents in the factory at Nangasaki. I therefore beg leave to state to your Lordship, as my decided opinion, that the only chance which we have for retaining the Japanese trade, is by gaining to our interest the present Dutch residents at Japan, and the Japanese corps of Dutch interpreters, at whatever price it may cost. With respect to the means by which this may be best accomplished, it is probable that better information than we yet possess may be procured at Batavia, before it become necessary to despatch the yearly vessel for Japan, which is about the beginning of March. Every precaution must doubtless be used to secure the reception of an English agent in the first place, and to make the transition as imperceptible as possible from the Dutch to the English. The last Japanese invoices of articles required by the Board of Trade will be found at Batavia,

and may be answered exactly ; and it will be requisite for the English agent, if received at all, to reside in Japan till the return of the ship next season, according to the Dutch ceremonial ; and if in the interim he could acquire the Japanese language, and ingratiate himself with the Bonzes, or religious of the Buddhist sects, much might probably be done to open the Japanese trade on a more liberal scale, especially during the yearly journey to the court of the emperor, when the Japanese nobles and princes are accustomed to visit the envoy in disguise. With regard to the present Japanese trade, it certainly is by no means equal to that of many neglected countries in Asia ; but the principal inducement to make efforts for its continuance is the prospect of its being opened on a more extensive scale ; an event which is very likely to be accelerated by the aggressions of Russia on the Kurile Islands, which properly belong to Japan, and several of which the Russians have already reduced.

“ Having thus stated to your Lordship the foregoing observations on specific topics connected with the acquisition of Java, and the fall of the Dutch possessions to the eastward, I shall now briefly advert to some more general views, which appear to be inseparably connected with them, and seem entitled to early attention.

“ The annexation of Java and the Eastern Isles to our Indian empire opens to the English nation views of so enlarged a nature, as seem equally to demand and justify a bolder policy, both of a commercial and political kind,

than we could have lately contemplated. The countries which must, directly or indirectly, fall under our influence and authority, form a range of possessions which, with intervals of no great importance, extend nearly from the Bay of Bengal to our settlements on the continent of New Holland. These are occupied, excepting where the Dutch have taken the territorial possession into their own hands, by several small groups of principalities, none of which, taken separately, have any pretensions to the rank of a powerful or independent state. The tribes of which they are composed, though varying radically in customs, manners, religion, and language, and possessing very different degrees of civilization, have long been confounded by Europeans under the general appellation of Malays, a term which may still be retained for convenience. It may be safely affirmed, that about the period when the Europeans first began to frequent these countries, they were not only much more populous, but the governments were more strong and steady, and the inhabitants in general much farther advanced in civilization. The Dutch, solely attentive to their own commercial interests, have, in their intercourse with these regions, invariably adhered to a more cold-blooded, illiberal, and ungenerous policy, than has ever been exhibited towards any country, unless we except the conduct of the European nations towards the slave-coast of Africa. In some instances, as in the case of the clusters of the Isles of Banda, the original inhabitants, when they opposed a resolute resistance to their

encroachments, have been entirely extirpated. Whenever the natives have displayed great courage and magnanimity of character, as in the case of the Macassars of Guah, and the Bugis of Soping, these natives have been hunted down with a perseverance worthy of a better cause. Indeed, the domination of the Dutch in the Malay countries seems to have been maintained in direct opposition to all principles of natural justice and sound policy, and which amply deserves a degree of reprobation little short of their transactions at Amboyna and Batavia, with regard to the English. But however their policy may be characterized, I apprehend that their claims to territorial right in the Eastern Isles, in which all the nations of Europe have so long and so blindly acquiesced, will be found to be very much inferior to what is generally supposed, unless, perhaps, in the Isle of Java itself. As their claims, of whatsoever kind, must now revert to the French nation, it will be of the utmost importance to ascertain from the original Dutch records, how far their territorial cessions and exclusive privileges do actually extend; also, how far these are absolute, and how far revocable; and, in short, to obtain a complete code of the Dutch treaties with all the Malay princes, since the first commencement of their establishments in the Eastern Isles. The diplomatic importance of such a code will be readily recognized by your Lordship; and in the event of any future negotiations in Europe, may prove of the most essential importance. The line of policy which on



the present occasion we ought to adopt towards the Malay states should be as uniform in its features, and comprehensive in its extent, as possible. The various groups of states to which what may be emphatically termed our Malay policy may extend are the following:—

“ 1st. The states of the Malay peninsula. 2nd. The states of the Island of Sumatra. 3rd. The states of the Island of Borneo. 4th. The states of the Sunda Isles, comprehending the chain of islands which extend from the Straits of Sunda to Timor and Celebes, exclusive of Java, which we may except for the present. 5th. The states of Celebes. 6th. The states of Sulu and Mindanawi. 7th. The states of the Moluccas, comprehending Ceram and Banda. 8th. The states of Jelolo, or Little Celebes. 9th. The Black Papua states of New Guinea, and the Papua Islands in its vicinity.

“ These states I shall only enumerate here, as requiring distinct reports on the nature of their connexion with the Dutch, or, as we may now state it, with the French; after which, it will probably appear to be our soundest policy to form the most intimate connexions, by treaty, with those which have indisputable pretensions to independence. This policy will, I flatter myself, appear obvious, whether we contemplate the maintaining the Malay isles in permanent possession, or the possible transferring of the Dutch possessions to the enemy in the event of a peace in Europe: in the event of the first alternative, it will enable us to turn these possessions to the greatest ad-

vantage, whether a respect be had to our European trade, or the general benefit of our Indian possessions. In the event of the second, we shall secure such a footing among the Eastern Isles, and such a favourable regard among the bravest races, as will baffle all the attempts of the enemy to dislodge us. By fixing ourselves in Banca, Bali, Celebes, and Jelolo, we should have a chain of posts which would prevent the enemy entirely from attaining very formidable power, or deriving his former advantages from the possession of Java and the Moluccas; and by forming a settlement in Borneo, connected with the interior of that country, so fertile, and so rich in the precious metals, we should soon be in a condition to compete with them on equal terms. The whole of the states which I have now specified have been so much accustomed to European interference and control, that the greater part of them are by no means fitted for the enjoyment of a fair and liberal independence, nor are they likely to become so for a series of years. At the same time, the treatment which they have experienced from the Dutch has been in general so extremely galling and oppressive, that a more liberal policy can hardly fail of conciliating their affections in a high degree; sufficiently conscious of their inability to stand alone, and warned by the breaking up of some of the oldest and most powerful states, they would gladly ally themselves to so powerful a nation as the English on anything like fair and equitable terms, by which they might be secured from civil commotions and the oppres-

sion of foreigners, without being deprived of all their natural advantages, as under the Dutch domination. Now, as our principal political embarrassment with regard to Java and the Eastern Isles arises from the danger of these being given up to the enemy, in the event of a peace in Europe, I beg leave to suggest to your Lordship a method of avoiding a part of this danger, which by no means appears impossible or even arduous to carry into execution, though it is not likely to occur to the Malay chiefs, unless it should be suggested to them. In ancient times, the Malay chiefs, though possessing the titles of Sultan, or Rajah, and in full possession of authority within their own domains, yet all held of a superior, or Suzerain, who was King of the ancient and powerful state of Majopahit, on the island of Java, and who had the title of Bitara. Malacca was one of the first states that shook off this allegiance, and became in the end so powerful as to hold a great part of the Malay peninsula, and of the opposite coast of Sumatra, in a similar dependence, though the sovereigns of these states retained the titles of Rajahs, or Sultans, and exercised their authority within their own territories. Now, though the present Malay chiefs are jealous and punctilious in a high degree about their own titles, they are by no means equally so respecting holding of a superior whose title would save their own dignity; and, I conceive, they might easily be prevailed upon by suggestions to invest the Governor-General of India with the ancient title of Bitara, equiva-

lent to Lord Protector, which has become obsolete among them for nearly three centuries, and which would not, I conceive, be reckoned injurious to the dignity of any modern chieftain, whatever titles and epithets he might bear. This would give a general right of superintendence over, and interference with, all the Malay states, which might be acted upon when circumstances should render it necessary; and might be so limited by treaty, as to remove any occasion of suspicion from the native powers. It is of importance, however, that this should appear to be the spontaneous and voluntary act of the Malay chieftains, as by this means it would be less liable to modification, in the event of any treaty which may be concluded in Europe with the enemy; but I shall here confine myself solely to the bare statement of the idea, and leave for future consideration its different limitations, and the means which might be proposed for carrying it into execution.

“ In the districts that may be reduced under the sole authority of the English, little doubt can be entertained that we shall best consult our own interests by a line of policy radically different from that of the Dutch. In all the eastern Dutch settlements, their favourite policy has been to depress the native Malay or Javanese inhabitants, and give every encouragement to the Chinese, who are only itinerants, and not children of the soil, and who follow the general practice of remitting the fruits of their industry to China, instead of spending them where they were acquired. The Chinese, in all ages equally supple,

venal, and crafty, failed not at a very early period to recommend themselves to the equally crafty, venal, and speculating Hollanders. They have, almost from the first, been the agents of the Dutch, and in the island of Java, in particular, they have almost acquired the entire monopoly of revenue farms and government contracts. At present many of the most respectable Dutch families are intimately connected with the Chinese in their contracts and speculations; and it is only very lately that Marshal Daendels sold the whole provinces of Pasuki to the Capitan China, or head Chinaman of Surabaya. It is even rumoured that this is not the only instance in which the Marshal has assigned whole provinces over to the unfeeling oppression of the Chinese, for the purpose of raising temporary resources in money. The Chinese have, in Java, been generally left to their own laws, and the regulations of their own chiefs; and being merely temporary residents in the country, they devote themselves entirely to the accumulation of wealth, without being very scrupulous concerning the means. When, therefore, they acquire grants of land, they always contrive to reduce the peasants speedily to the condition of slaves. The improvement of the people, which has never been an object with the Dutch, is much less so with the Chinese; and the oppression which they have exercised in the vicinity of Batavia has not failed to open the eyes of the Dutch themselves. A late report of the counselors of Batavia on this subject accordingly states, that

‘ Although the Chinese, as being the most diligent and industrious settlers, should be the most useful, they are, on the contrary, become a very dangerous people, and are to be remarked as a pest to the country; and that there appears to be no radical cure for this evil but their extermination from the interior, a measure which cannot now be effected.’ Of the degree of oppression which they are in the habit of exercising towards the peasants, some idea may be formed from the following fact:—The staple grain of Java is rice, and the established rate of ground-rent for rice-grounds in Java is 1-10th of the crop. Wherever the Chinese are the land-holders, however, they exact, as rent, 5-8ths of the produce of the ground. Wherever they have formed extensive settlements in Java, accordingly, the native Javanese have no alternative but that of abandoning the district, or becoming slaves of the soil; besides, the monopolizing spirit of the Chinese frequently exercises a very pernicious control over the necessaries of life, and the produce of the soil, even in the vicinity of Batavia. If we consider the suppleness and insinuating address of the Chinese, how apt they are on all occasions to curry favour, how ready they are to proffer assistance when there is no danger, and when they perceive that it falls in with their own interest, we may depend upon their utmost efforts being used to ingratiate themselves with the English. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance to be early on our guard against this pernicious and increasing influence, which preys on the very vitals of the

country, draining and exhausting it for the benefit of China. In all the Malay states, the Chinese have made every effort to get into their hands the farming of the port duties, and this has generally proved the ruin of the trade. In addition to these circumstances, it should be recollected that the Chinese, from their peculiar language and manners, form a kind of separate society in every place where they settle, which gives them great advantage over every competitor in arranging monopolies of trade. It also gives them an opportunity of aspiring after political ascendancy, which they have often acquired in the inferior Malay states. This ascendancy of the Chinese, whether of a commercial or political nature, should be cautiously guarded against and restrained; and this perhaps cannot be better done than by bringing forward the native population of Malays and Javanese, and encouraging them in useful and industrious habits.

“ The observations which I have suggested to your Lordship regarding the Chinese are in a high degree applicable to the Arabs who frequent the Malay countries, and, under the specious mask of religion, prey on the simple, unsuspecting natives. The Chinese must, at all events, be admitted to be industrious; but the Arabs are mere drones, useless and idle consumers of the produce of the ground, affecting to be descendants of the Prophet, and the most eminent of his followers, when in reality they are commonly nothing more than manumitted slaves :

they worm themselves into the favour of the Malay chiefs, and often procure the highest offices in the Malay states. They hold like robbers the offices they obtain as sycophants, and cover all with the sanctimonious veil of religious hypocrisy. Under the pretext of instructing the Malays in the principles of the Mahomedan religion, they inculcate the most intolerant bigotry, and render them incapable of receiving any species of useful knowledge. It is seldom that the East is visited by Arabian merchants of large capital, but there are numerous adventurers who carry on a coasting-trade from port to port; and by asserting the religious titles of Sheikh and Seyyad, claim, and generally obtain, an exemption from all port duties in the Malay states. They are also very frequently concerned in acts of piracy, and great promoters of the slave trade. This class of adventurers it will be our object sedulously to repress, but a regulated trade with any of the commercial states of Arabia, as Muscat, Mocha, or Jidda, may prove extremely advantageous to the Malay countries. The old Sultan of Pontiana, who was on his guard against the machinations of the Chinese, and took effectual means to prevent their either farming his port duties or engrossing his trade, suffered himself to be constantly circumvented and duped by the Arab adventurers who frequented Pontiana. The errors of the father, however, have served in some degree to open the eyes of his son, the present Sultan; yet he still continues to suffer Arab traders, direct from Arabia, to trade at Pontiana,



duty free ; and last year this port was visited by two Arab vessels direct from Muscat. This may serve, in some degree, to illustrate the necessity of our establishing an equal and uniform system of port regulations through the whole of the Malay countries ; for if the Chinese, on the one hand, are permitted to farm import and export duties, in different ports, they have every facility allowed them to form combinations, in order to secure a monopoly to Chinese traders ; and if, on the other hand, the Arabs, under religious pretext, are entirely exempted from duties, they may baffle all competition, and the Malay countries will inevitably be exhausted and drained, and the English deprived of the fruits of conquest merely to the advantage of two foreign nations, that are equally devoid of claims on the English and the Malays. Let the Chinese and the Arabs, as well as the Americans, trade to the eastward, but let their trade be regulated, and above all, let them not be left in the enjoyment of exemptions and advantages which are neither possessed by the English nor the Malays. Since the reduction of the Dutch influence in the East, several of the ports formerly dependant on them have almost become Arab colonies, as Palembang, Tringano, and Telawany on Sumbawa. The evil is obviously increasing every day, and can only be checked by encouraging the native Malays, and regulating on equal terms the duties of the Malay and other eastern ports.

“ Another class of commercial interlopers, who will re-

quire our vigilant attention, is the Americans. Previous to the late embargo they were beginning to frequent the islands of Ceram, Goram, and Ceram Laut, with other islands to the eastward of the Moluccas, for the purpose of picking up articles for the Chinese market, such as birds'-nests, sea-slug, or tripang, tortoiseshell, &c., and occasionally engaging in the contraband trade of spices. Of late they have become still better acquainted with many of these islands, from their vessels having been employed by the Dutch. If such active and enterprising traders, who are certainly not particularly well affected to the English, be permitted to trade to the Eastern islands on equal terms with the English, it will inevitably be injurious to our commercial interests. But if they are permitted the free range of the Archipelago, perhaps it would be difficult to devise a measure more injurious to our political influence, as well as our commercial interests. The Americans, wherever they go, as they have no object but commercial adventure, and as fire-arms are in the highest request, especially among the more Eastern isles, these would be considered as the most profitable articles. They have already filled the different clusters of islands in the South Seas with fire-arms, and they would not fail to do the same in the different Eastern islands. These considerations seem obviously to point to a line of policy respecting the trade of the Eastern islands, which in some respects coincides closely with that adopted by the Dutch.

while in others it differs from it entirely in ultimate principles.

“ In many respects, the commercial policy adopted by the Dutch, with regard to the Eastern islands, and the Malay states in general, was not only contrary to all principles of natural justice, and unworthy of any enlightened and civilized nation, but characterized by a degree of absurdity, for which it was scarcely worth taking the trouble of being so preposterously wicked. Thus in the Dutch orders, respecting trade and navigation, in the very first article it is stated, that ‘ All persons whatever are prohibited, under pain of death, from trading in the four fine kinds of spices, unless such spices shall first have been brought from the Company.’ After the enactment of a penalty so outrageously disproportioned to the offence, the authentic accounts of their attempts to destroy and eradicate from a vast range of extensive countries the most advantageous produce of the land, in order to favour their own petty traffic, and their burning a large proportion of the residue, in order to keep up their monopoly price in Europe on a small proportion of this produce, must be viewed, by all liberal-minded and intelligent men, with sentiments of equal contempt and detestation. Against errors of this kind, your Lordship’s presence in the East will be an effectual preventive ; but it may still be questioned whether, in the present state of these countries, it may not be necessary, in the first instance, to retain some traits of Dutch policy. One feature of Dutch

policy to the eastward seems to have been the entire exclusion of all other powers, whether native or European, excepting at certain specified ports, under their own immediate influence and control. This policy was as much connected with the political government of the country as with the commercial profits of the Company: for in an Archipelago of such an unparalleled extent, inhabited by tribes of such various character, formidable in a high degree from their very want of civilization, it was necessary to bring forward some of the most powerful and most favourably-situated of these numerous states, and to hold them answerable for the proceedings of the smaller districts under their influence. This policy gave rise to the establishment of certain regular and determined trading-ports, and the vigilant suppression of all attempts at competition and independence in the inferior states. Had this measure been conjoined with a liberal policy, tending to facilitate the home trade, as we denominate it, between these privileged ports established by the Dutch and the various countries under their influence, I apprehend that little doubt can be entertained that it would have tended materially to promote the civilization and general improvement of all the Eastern nations. Very different, however, was the object of the Dutch agreements with the different Rajahs of the Eastern Archipelago. In some cases it was to secure a monopoly of all the tin, pepper, camphor, or other saleable articles that the country produced; in another, it was to bind the chiefs of the country

to destroy the only saleable articles that the country produced, lest the monopoly price of the Dutch should be injured by a greater quantity of such produce being brought to market. The Dutch genius, though exclusively devoted to commerce, has never yet been able to discover, that in the long-run it must be more profitable 'to make smaller profits on a larger capital, than larger profits on a smaller capital;' and their policy has been not unaptly compared to a man putting out one of his eyes, in order to strengthen the sight of the other. Against the policy of establishing certain determinate and regular ports as emporiums of trade, it does not appear to me that there are any valid objections to be stated; and I therefore submit this measure to your Lordship's consideration, as the most effectual method of preventing the Eastern islands from being overrun by a multitude of unprincipled adventurers, chiefly Chinese, Arabian, and American, whose presence in these countries will neither tend to strengthen the interest of the British nation, nor ameliorate the condition of the natives.

“ If this measure, however, should approve itself to your Lordship, it may still be proper to inquire, in what respects our policy may be considered as superior to that of the Dutch, and how it is calculated to promote the improvement and advantage of the Malay nations in a higher degree than theirs. It must be admitted that the policy which we have hitherto pursued, with

regard to the Malay nations, has been by no means of a conciliating or prepossessing nature. Our intercourse with them has been carried on almost exclusively by adventurers little acquainted with either the country or people, who have frequently been more remarkable for boldness than principle. Indeed, the want of any settled basis of traffic, and the long indifference of the British government to the complaints of either party, had produced so many impositions, reprisals, piracies, and murders, that it has fairly been observed, that every eastern trader must have been himself very much in the situation of a trader in spirits, tobacco, and blankets among the Indians of North America. It was properly remarked by Mr. Farquhar, in his report on Prince of Wales' Island, that this indifference of the British government must have originated solely from the want of information, or from its incorrectness, since little doubt can be entertained that the riches of Sumatra and Borneo are equal to either Brazil or South America, and it is only from the disadvantages under which we have hitherto entered into the competition that these great sources of wealth have been so long engrossed by the Dutch, Spaniards, and Chinese. But this previous neglect of the British government we may confidently expect will form no rule for the future, and the benefits which the Malay nations may derive from a close connection with the British government and nation are such as there is no probability of their ever deriving from the French or Dutch.

“The doctrine that a colony should always be considered as a distant province of the mother country could never have been received by the Dutch, and the radical want of strength in the government of Batavia must always have prevented them from venturing to act upon it. Of course they must always have contemplated the prosperity of the Eastern tribes with the invidious regret of a rival shopkeeper, and regarded their progress in civilization with the jealousy of a timorous despot, which, in point of fact, we know they actually did. The power of the English in the East enables them to employ a less timid policy; humanity imperiously requires that they should employ it, and fortunately their own interest coincides with these as an additional inducement.

“The causes which have tended most to the depression of the Malays, and the deterioration of their character, are the following:—the civil commotions to which every state is liable from the radical want of strength in the sovereign, and the constant wars between petty chieftains, and heads of villages or districts: the ill-defined succession to the throne, from the doctrine of primogeniture being imperfectly recognized in the Malay states: the prevalence of piracy in all the eastern seas: the system of domestic slavery, with all its concomitant evils, as wars for the purpose of procuring slaves, and the want of general confidence between family and family, man and man: the want of a generally established and recognized system of laws regarding all questions, civil and criminal,

in the Malay states : the want of a similar system of commercial regulations respecting port duties, anchorage, and other charges, to prevent arbitrary exactions in the various Malay ports : the discouragement given to regular trade by the monopolies of the Malay Rajahs : the redress of these evils is, in a great measure, in the power of the English nation ; it is worthy of their general character, and there is no other nation that possesses the means in an equal degree, even if it possessed the inclination.

“ With regard to the feudal wars of petty chieftains, and the civil commotions which constantly agitate the Malay states, these have been greatly increased by the policy of the Dutch, whose authority has been in a great measure maintained and supported by the dissensions which they were in the habit of exciting in the more powerful Malay states. In consequence of this, we find that scarcely a single powerful state now subsists, which was in existence when the Dutch settled in the East. This, however, must not be entirely imputed to the machinations of the Dutch, but originates in part from such radical defects in Mahomedan law. The principal of these are, the expiation of murder by paying the price of blood, and a fine to the prince ; and the want of an express provision in law against treason and rebellion, and the consequent opinion which is generally entertained among Moslems, that whoever possesses the power of assuming independence possesses the right of declaring



it. This evil may be easily corrected by supporting the legitimate authority by our influence, and by that means subjecting the private quarrels of head-men gradually to the general system of established law.

“The want of a well-defined rule of succession to the government in the families of the Malay Rajahs is constantly productive of innumerable parties, divisions, and civil agitations in every state. This, however, is an evil common to all governments where the Mahomedan religion prevails, though its evils are most felt in a comparatively rude state of society, such as exists in the Malay countries. The evil was prevented effectually during the Dutch domination, by their assuming the paramount right of granting investiture to every prince who succeeded to the government of a country; and if such a plan, as I have alluded to, were to be adopted by the English, a similar policy, either by granting investiture, or by recognizing the heir apparent, would naturally require to be followed. A regulation of this kind, I have the utmost reason for thinking, would be highly acceptable to all the Malay nations: for among a great number of them, at present, the death of a prince is regarded with horror by all his subjects, as the signal for intestine war, ruin, and devastation.

“Of the prevalence of piracy on the Malay coast, and its being regarded as an honourable occupation, worthy of being followed by young princes and nobles, I have already had occasion to speak. This is an evil of ancient

date, and which has struck deep in the Malay habits. The old Malay romances, and the fragments of their traditional history, constantly refer to piratical cruises. In addition to the cases which I have already enumerated, it may be proper to add, that the state of the Eastern population, and the intolerant spirit of the religion of Islam, have eminently tended to increase this practice. The Arab Sheikhs and Scyyads, whatever doctrines they failed to inculcate, did not neglect the propagation of one, the merit of plundering and massacring the infidels; an abominable tenet, which has tended more than all the rest of the Alcoran to the propagation of this robber-religion. Numerous and various are the tribes of the Eastern Isles which have not embraced the religion of Islam to this day, and consequently are reckoned infidels. All the great nations of the continent are in the same predicament as the Siamese, Cochin-Chinese, and Chinese themselves. Cruises against the infidels were, and are, constantly certain of receiving the approbation of all the Arab teachers settled in the Malay countries. The practice of piracy, however, is now an evil too extensive and formidable to be cured by reasoning, and must, at all events, be put down by a strong hand; though precautions against its recurrence may be taken in the system which shall be adopted with regard to the Malay states, by rendering every chieftain answerable for his own territory, and punishing in an exemplary manner refractory chiefs.

“ Connected with this evil, though of much wider extent, is the system of slavery in the Malay countries, which, to apply the energetic language of Mr. Pitt to this subject, ‘ has been none of the least efficient causes of keeping down these regions in a state of bondage, ignorance, and blood.’ On the grand evils of the system of slavery, and its necessary concomitant, the man-trade, and its pernicious consequences, whether personal or civil, social or domestic, it is fortunately, at the present period, unnecessary to expatiate, since, by the late ‘ Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade,’ that system of crimes is prohibited in all territories in his Majesty’s possession or occupation. In the beginning of the year 1806, the Marquis Wellesley abolished slavery throughout India ; and your Lordship, by your order of June 4th, to emancipate all the government slaves at Malacca, and to direct that hereafter no slaves shall be purchased or received on account of government, has already given all the Malay nations an earnest of your Lordship’s sentiments on the subject. It is certainly to the credit of our countrymen in the East, that they have, at the most early periods, opposed all attempts to introduce the abominable slave traffic into our settlements in the East ; and in proof of this, it is only necessary to refer to an act of the Governor in council of Madras on so early a date as 1682, prohibiting this nefarious traffic at that presidency.

“ The sources of slavery in the Malay countries are chiefly the following:—piracy, captivity in war, man-steal-

ing, and the penalties enacted in the Malay law respecting debts and sundry misdemeanors. Piracy is often a distinct source of slavery, the surviving crews of vessels which fall into their hands being generally disposed of by sale at the first market, as in the instance of the ship *Commerce*, the crew of which, consisting of Bengal Lascars, are reported to have been publicly sold for slaves at Borneo Proper and Sambas. In many instances they have employed such crews as slaves, both on board their own vessels and on their own settlements, in cultivating the grounds, as at *Ratch*, on the east coast of Sumatra. The numerous chieftains in the Malay countries, and the constant wars which they carry on against each other, is another great source of slavery; the captives taken in such wars are generally employed in domestic occupations, tending cattle, and cultivating the ground, when there is no opportunity of bringing them to market, a circumstance which seldom occurs, since such numbers are constantly required by the Arabs and Chinese traders, as well as the Dutch, that the market is seldom overstocked. Many of the Arab trading-vessels are almost entirely navigated by the slaves of the owners; and in their progress from island to island, they find little difficulty in recruiting their crew, by receiving presents of slaves; or, if that should fail, by kidnapping or man-stealing. This forms a strong argument against prohibiting the range of the islands to either the Chinese or Arab traders; for if this were permitted, the abolition of the system of kidnapping

would be absolutely impossible. The pagan tribes in the vicinity of the Moslems, such as the Bali, and some of the tribes of the Bugismen, the Harafuras, the Black Papuas, or Oriental negroes, the original inhabitants of Seram, Goram, and other easterly nations, are, in a great measure, the victims of the man-stealing or kidnapping system; and, as they are only infidels, they are considered as fair booty. Further inquiries, however, are necessary, in order to ascertain the probable extent of the kidnapping system. But another source of this evil is the nature of the penalties established in the *Undang Undang*, or system of Malay law, respecting debtors and persons guilty of various misdemeanors, by which these are liable to become slaves. As I hope to be able to lay shortly before your Lordship a translation of the Malay laws relative to this interesting topic, I shall not enlarge upon it at present, especially as this brings me to the subject of general reform of the system of Malay law. It is, however, necessary to mention, that your Lordship's attention will unavoidably be called to the subject of the relief of slave debtors, and perhaps the mitigation of the slave system in the Eastern Islands. On the subject of slave debtors, there is reason to apprehend that the greatest abuses exist, even in the district of Malacca itself, especially among that unfortunate class of men who have become bondmen to the Chinese, and who have very little chance of ever recovering their liberty, however small their debts may originally have been. As the most

minute local inquiries must be necessary before any efficient measures can be taken for palliating or removing these evils, I shall, in the present case, content myself with requesting your Lordship's attention to this most serious and important subject.

“ Nothing has tended more decidedly to the deterioration of the Malay character than the want of a well-defined and generally acknowledged system of law. The Malay nations had in general made considerable progress in civilization before the introduction of the religion of Islam among them. They had, accordingly, regular institutions of their own, some of which were probably of considerable antiquity, as those of the Javanese, Bugis, and Macasar tribes. As these appear to have been generally derived from the Indian nations, and were radically different from those of the Arabs, some difficulty appears to have occurred in adapting them to the general tenor of Mahomedan law, and divers anomalous institutions appear accordingly to have sprung up in different states. These occur in every department of public law, whether commercial, civil, or criminal, and are recited in the Undang Undang and Addat Malayu, which are the systems of national law among the Malays, and which vary considerably in different states, and still more from the generally acknowledged principles of Mahomedan law, as received by the Arabs. Hence there is in almost every state a constant struggle between the adherents of the old Malay usages and the Hajis, and other religious

persons, who are desirous of introducing the laws of the Arabs, in order to increase their own consequence. The evils which result from this complex and ill-defined system are both numerous and important, as they respect the most essential interests of society, and afford an opening for the caprice and tyranny of their rulers, and general insecurity both of person and property. The Malays are at present in a very different situation from any of the old Moslem states, such as Persia, Arabia, or Turkey. The Moslem religion has hitherto taken only a very partial and superficial root in many of the Eastern Islands. In the interior of all the large islands paganism still prevails; in many districts there are considerable numbers professing Christianity: the Chinese swarm in every Malay country, and live intermingled with the Moslems. This mixture of religions and tribes has tended, in some degree, to soften the intolerance of the Moslem religion among the Malay nations, and neither the positive authority of Islam, nor the persuasions of their Arab teachers, have hitherto been able to induce them to abandon their own peculiar usages and customs. Considering the Malays, therefore, as more open to instruction than the votaries of Islam in general, I beg leave to submit to your Lordship's consideration, whether the present opportunity might not be taken advantage of to invite the Malay chiefs to a revisal of their general system of laws and usages. This I conceive might be done, even on a great scale, without exciting any umbrage or suspicion in the

minds of the people in general; for with some of these usages, especially those which relate to wrecks on the Malay shores, and the commercial regulations of the different ports, it will be absolutely necessary for us to interfere at all events. These commercial regulations form a part of the general Malay laws, and as we must in some degree interfere with these, the same opportunity may perhaps be taken to procure the abandonment of some of those maxims and usages which have the strongest tendency to prevent their progress in information and the habits of civilized life. When the seven Ionian islands were lately ceded to France, the president of the senate offered a prize for the best dissertation on the following question:—‘Why do the Ionian islanders occupy themselves only with frivolous and unimportant objects, and by what means may their attention be drawn to things of consequence?’ Such are the questions regarding the Malay islands, which now invite your Lordship’s attention; and in answer to them the reform of the Malay laws may certainly be specified as one of the most important, and as one of the means by which the benefit of the Malay nations will be secured from their connexion with the English. With respect to the mode in which this may be with greatest facility accomplished, I shall only venture to suggest, that every Malay chief might be requested to furnish a copy of the Undang Undang current in his own state, and to send at some fixed time one or two of the learned men of the country, best versed in the laws, to a



congress which might be appointed for the purpose of revising the general system of Malay laws. Such a plan might be attended, perhaps, in the first instance, with certain difficulties; but none, as far as I can judge, which are by any means insurmountable. It would be proper to begin with settling the regulations of a commercial kind; and as these, though copied in many respects from the regulations of the Portuguese and Dutch, are considered as a part of the Malay law, it might be both useful and popular among the Malays to call in the assistance of their learned men.

“ Another of the customs injurious to the Malay nations, is the trading monopoly which in most of the Malay ports is actually assumed, or attempted to be assumed, by the Malay chiefs. Of this monopoly there is no trace in the Undang Undang of the Malays, or in the fragments of their history which I have seen, such as the traditional annals of Malacca; and after an attentive consideration, I am induced to think that this pernicious practice has been entirely copied from the monopoly regulations of the Dutch. Where this system has been fully carried into effect, it has generally succeeded effectually in repressing industry and commercial enterprise; and where it has been for some time established, its evils have been felt deeply, so that there is no doubt but the Malay chiefs could easily be induced to relinquish it in favour of a regulated commerce. The Malay laws and maxims are fortunately of a very different kind from those which have

been adopted and systematized among the great nations of the Continent in their vicinity. These nations, especially the Siamese and Cochin Chinese, have long been accustomed to look up to the Chinese, with whom they coincide in religion and manners, and from whom they have adopted their exclusive maxims of foreign intercourse. The Malays, on the other hand, though accustomed to look up to the Arabs as their religious instructors, seldom hesitate to admit the superiority of both the Europeans and Chinese, either to themselves or the Arabs, in the arts of life and general science, and it is certainly our interest to prevent the increase of the Arab influence among the Malay nations.

“ From similar considerations, as well as in conformity to the instructions issued from home, the Dutch nation appear to have pursued as a principle of policy the propagation of Christianity among the Eastern Islands. The same plan had been previously followed by the Portuguese in their various eastern possessions with great success; and there are now several small islands in the Malay archipelago inhabited almost entirely by Christians of the Catholic persuasion, as the islands of Sanggir and Siaük, situated between Jelolo and Mindanawi. In many other islands the Protestant persuasion has made very considerable progress, and teachers in the flourishing times of the Batavian regency were dispersed over all the low chain of islands which extend from Bali and Lambok to the great island of Timor. The islands in which the

Christian faith has been most extensively diffused are, the great island Endé, or Manggerai, the isles of Solor, Sale-rang, Lomblim, and Ombai, the great island Timor, and the several small islands in its vicinity, as Savo, Roti, and Samba. In many of these islands the natives, having no written character of their own, have been instructed in the Roman character, and taught to read Malay and other dialects in it. There have also been various religious formularies printed for their use, and translations have been executed for the use of these Christians in some of their languages, which have little or no affinity to the Malay. The propagation of Christianity among these islands is obviously liable to none of the objections which have been urged against it in our Indian possessions. A great proportion of the natives are still Pagans, under the influence of a wild and almost unintelligible superstition, the principles of which are not recorded in books, but are handed down like stories of ghosts, fairies, and witches, with all the uncertainty of tradition. Accordingly, in most instances, the people, though they stand in great awe of the priests, as enchanters, or dealers with the invisible spirits, are very little attached to the superstition. Many of them are said to be very desirous of procuring instruction, and in some places they look up with a degree of veneration to the Moslems, as a people who have received something which they still want. Besides, the attachment of the Malays to the religion of Islam is by no means of that strength as to emancipate

them from their old usages, nor to inspire them with that contempt and hatred for other religions which is found in many of the older Moslem kingdoms. On the advantages which must accrue from protecting Christianity in these Eastern Islands, and by favouring its propagation in preference to the doctrines of Islam, where it may be so easily propagated, it is unnecessary to enlarge, in addressing your Lordship. Permit me, however, to allude to one remarkable fact, which may serve to illustrate the necessity of attending to the subject as a matter of public importance. In our present settlement of Malacca, the impossibility of procuring servants for wages compels almost every person to have recourse to slaves, and a considerable proportion of these are Pagans, being chiefly Battas from the centre of Sumatra, Balis from Bali, Dayaks from Borneo, besides natives of Timor and the more easterly islands. Of all these slaves that fall into the hands of the English, there is perhaps not a single one that becomes a Christian, but the whole of them become Moslems, and despise and hate their masters as infidels. Such is the woeful effect of our supineness and indifference, which, if they should extend to the East, would certainly not tend to the progress of general improvement among the Malays.

“ In these observations I have in some degree avoided alluding to the advantages which may be expected to accrue to the British nation itself, and also to the British possessions in India, from the acquisition of Java and the

Eastern isles, because I am persuaded that the real advantages which these countries possess will be found, under a liberal and enlightened system of management, vastly to exceed any expectations which may be formed in the present state of our information concerning them. In their present state, with the exception of Java, these countries are poor in respect of general wealth, and can only pay in rude produce for the articles which they require from other countries. The rude produce, however, of the Malay countries is of various kinds, some of which are extremely valuable, and equally calculated for the European, the Indian, and the China market. The intercourse between countries rich in manufacturing industry and countries rich in raw produce, is universally admitted to be of equal benefit to both. In respect of the Malay islands, India must long be regarded as a manufacturing country, and is particularly fitted to supply a variety of articles in general request among the Malays, without interfering with the industry of the mother country. The trade from India to the Malay countries has hitherto chiefly consisted in opium and piece-goods, for which India has chiefly received back gold-dust, spices, gums, and coffee. I omit the mention of copper, as it is not a native Malay production, but chiefly derived from Japan. The circumstance, however, under which the Indian trade to the eastward has been hitherto carried on, and the insecurity and want of protection under which it has always laboured, renders the

past no criterion of the future, and I have no doubt it may be improved to an almost indefinite extent, as the Malay countries advance in civilization. The Java sugar is at present reckoned nearly on a par with the fine sugar of Manilla, and the Java coffee next to the coffee of Mocha and Bourbon. Either of these productions are capable of being greatly extended. The Dutch, in their usual way, restricted the cultivation of coffee to about ten millions of pounds, though it has been stated that the island of Java is capable of producing at least fifty millions of pounds. The extended cultivation of these articles must, however, be matter for future consideration. Coffee, at present, is chiefly produced in the provinces of Cheribon.

“ With regard to the Chinese market, the Malay countries furnish a variety of articles of the most general use and constant demand, and which do not affect either the products or manufactures of either Great Britain or British India. Tin is one of these products, which, finds a constant and almost indefinite demand in China, and which is solely produced in the Malay countries and some of the dependencies of Siam. Pepper, which, after the acquisition of the Dutch eastern settlements, we shall have the command of, almost as much as of nutmegs, cloves, mace, and cinnamon, is in considerable demand for the Chinese market, as well as for Arabia and Persia. The quantity of pepper yearly required for the Chinese market has been estimated at 50,000 piculs, that of

sandal-wood about 6000 piculs, besides camphor and benjamin, and a variety of valuable gums, the production of which is nearly confined to the Malay countries. The quantity of pearls, mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shell, ivory, birds'-nests, sea-slug, fish-maws, shark-fins, ebony, black and coloured woods, for furniture and dye-stuffs, yearly imported to the Chinese market from the Malay islands is admitted to be extremely great; but the trade having never been well regulated, it might be difficult, in the present state of our knowledge, to attempt subjecting it to calculations.

“ In the present unparalleled state of the European market on the Continent, it is hazardous to venture to allude to it. It may, however, be stated generally, that the acquisition of the Dutch possessions in the East places the command of the spice trade, together with that of pepper and coffee, besides a variety of other eastern produce, entirely in our hands, and that the Continent must either do without these articles, or submit to purchase them from the English.

“ The valuable forests of teak and other ship timber in Java and the other Eastern isles, are acquisitions of the highest national importance in the present state of European politics, and promise to render our navy independent of the stores formerly derived from the precarious friendship of the northern powers. Nor is the acquisition of a range of countries, apparently possessing the most valu-

able gold and diamond mines in the world, an object unworthy of our notice in our present situation, in which the drain of our specie has been great in an unprecedented degree, and when for the restoration of the precious metals among us, as a circulating medium, we are likely to be left in a great measure to our own resources.

“ To dilate any further on these topics is unnecessary, as on your Lordship's approach to Java, every day will bring forward information to which it is not now in my power to allude. The suggestions which I have already offered may perhaps have already appeared to your Lordship unnecessarily prolix; but in putting you in possession of all the information which I have been able to obtain, and of all the views of the subject which I consider as meriting attention, I have only endeavoured to reply to that confidence which your Lordship reposed in me, in appointing me your Lordship's agent to the Malay states.

“ I have now only to congratulate your Lordship on the most splendid prospect which any administration has beheld since our first acquisition of India: the pacification of India completed, the tranquillity and prosperity of our eastern possessions secured, the total expulsion of the European enemy from the Eastern Seas, and the justice, humanity, and moderation of the British government, as much exemplified in fostering and leading on new races



of subjects and allies in the career of improvement, as the undaunted courage and resolution of British soldiers in rescuing them from oppression.

“ I have the honour to remain, with the highest respect and consideration,

“ Your Lordship's

“ Most faithful and devoted humble servant,

(Signed)

“ THOS. RAFFLES,

“ Agent to the Governor-General

“ with the Malay States.

“ *Malacca, the 10th June, 1811.*”

## CHAPTER IV.

*Lord Minto's great anxiety as to the passage from Malacca to Batavia—Naval men opposed to Mr. Raffles—Lord Minto confides in Mr. Raffles—New passage attempted—Arrival off Batavia—Mr. Raffles gives a sketch of the events which led to his being employed in the expedition—Establishment of the French power in Java—Sir Samuel Achmuty's account of the capture of Batavia, and of the battle of Cornelis—Capitulation of the Island—Intercepted letters from Governor Jansens—Lord Minto's opinion of the value of the conquest—Death of Dr. Leyden—Lord Minto places Mr. Raffles in the government of Java—Leading principles of the Dutch government—Projected change of system—English Residents appointed at the native courts—Ancient temples—First Colony of Hindus—Upas poison—Journey to the Eastern district.*

LORD MINTO, in his letter of the 11th of March, 1811, manifested great anxiety regarding the route to be pursued by the expedition on quitting Malacca : Mr. Raffles deeply participated in this feeling.

The difficulty was great of making a passage with a large fleet through an Archipelago, where the wind blows strongly from one point of the compass for several months ; where the passage between the islands is often so narrow, that only one ship can pass at a time, and then so close to the land, that the sides of the vessel are shadowed

by the luxuriant vegetation extending to the water's edge.

Upon this subject it was found impossible to obtain any positive information—every account was obscure and contradictory. Mr. Raffles did not hesitate to stake his reputation on the success which would attend the expedition, if the route he pointed out should be followed. The naval authorities were opposed, but Lord Minto proved his confidence in the judgment and local information of Mr. Raffles, by embarking with him in his Majesty's ship the *Modeste*, commanded by Captain the Honourable George Elliott, on the 18th of June, 1811, and leading the way by the route marked out on Mr. Raffles's sole responsibility.

This route was followed with so much success, that in less than six weeks after quitting Malacca, the fleet, consisting of upwards of ninety sail, was in sight of Batavia, without accident to a single vessel. Mr. Raffles often spoke in after times with animated expressions of the pleasure he felt on witnessing this happy termination of the voyage.

Lord Minto, after announcing that he had arrived off the coast of Java, and that the passage was completed during the height of the south-east monsoon, by a fleet of upwards of ninety ships, adds,—

“The expectations which had been formed were verified in every part of the passage, and every thing turned out precisely as had been foretold and proposed, with the

exception of finding less difficulty than had been looked for, and the voyage proving shorter than could have been hoped. The whole fleet had assembled on the coast of Java by the 30th of July, forty-two days, or exactly six weeks : the *Modeste*, if alone, would have done it a fortnight sooner.

“I have been the more particular in detailing these circumstances, because this expedition must have been abandoned for the present year, (an earlier departure than actually took place from India having been found totally impracticable,) if I had yielded to the predicted difficulties of the passage.”

The following letter to an intimate associate of Mr. Raffles' early years was written when the fleet reached the coast of Java, and shows his buoyancy of spirit even in seasons of the greatest anxiety :—

“You are, either from inclination or habit, so bad a correspondent, that I barely get an acknowledgment of my letters, much less an assurance that they are well received. However, *coûte qu'il coûte*; be it as it may, I'll speak to thee, call thee Friend, dear Ramsay, be thy intent wicked or charitable.

“You always said I was a strange wild fellow, insatiable in ambition, though meek as a maiden; and perhaps there is more truth than otherwise in what you said; but with all, I will assure you this, that although, from want of self-confidence and from natural shamefacedness, (for I will not call it modesty or bashfulness,) I am as unhappy

at times as any poor wretch need be, I have times in which I am as happy as I think it possible for man to be; and it is one of these life-inspiring moments that I now purpose passing with you *à la distance*; and notwithstanding my inclination of hearing, rather than being heard, I must for once venture to be the historian of my own tale.

“ You shall have an account since I quitted Penang in June, 1810, and that in as few words as possible.

“ My friend, Admiral Drury, our late Commander-in-chief, informed me by letter in June, last year, that he had exerted all his interest with Lord Minto, the Governor-General, to obtain for me the situation of Governor of the Moluccas; that his Lordship was most favourably disposed towards me; and that, as far as it rested with Sir George Barlow, or the Governor-General, I might be satisfied they wished to avail themselves of my services.

“ The expedition against the Isle of France was about to sail. On its success depended a still greater expedition—the attack of Java. To the latter, therefore, I attached myself; was admitted to the fullest and most unreserved confidence of the Supreme Government, and in due time proceeded on a political mission to the Eastern Isles, as the *avant courier* of the expedition. I fixed my head-quarters at Malacca, made the political impressions and intimations that were necessary, and furnished the requisite information. The expedition,

consisting of about ninety sail, arrived at Malacca the end of May ; and on the 18th of June, having seen the whole off, and having been previously joined by the Governor-General, I embarked with his Lordship in the *Modeste* frigate, acting in the capacity of his chief secretary. We are now off the coast of Java, having come a-head of the fleet ; but we expect them to-morrow, and the attack will be made in the course of the week.

“Of the importance of this conquest, the views that naturally present themselves on such an occasion, and the share I have had in bringing the important point so near a conclusion, I need not speak ; you have the opportunity of seeing the government proceedings, which will be sufficiently satisfactory.

“I beg that you will write to me to Batavia by any vessel coming direct, or by way of India or China—if you really knew the pleasing satisfaction I derive from having even three words from you, I think you would not decline ; at the same time, I must say, that you are the most famous hand for a short letter that I ever knew, and in truth this is hardly reasonable, for in comparison you cannot have much to do—I have, on the contrary, my hands full at all times, witness the papers sent in by me on record, and reflect on the numerous papers and affairs that I get through which never reach England.

“I wish very much to hear what is said of my political ideas respecting the government of the eastward. Adieu, my dear Ramsay, for the present : my paper is out, and

dinner is announced, so farewell—I will write you more fully after we are settled. Conquer we must.

“Your’s always,

“T. S. R.”

Still further light may be thrown upon the views and motives by which Mr. Raffles was influenced in these important proceedings, and the feelings of satisfaction which, at the interesting moment of his arrival off Batavia, so powerfully possessed his mind, by the following letter from him to Dr. Raffles, though written after a lapse of several years.

“Some months had now elapsed, and it was to be feared that arrangements for the administration of the Moluccas were already in progress. Yet the chance of being in time, and the expectation of still further advancing my interests with Lord Minto, weighed with me in the resolution I took, of proceeding in person to Bengal. My attention had long been directed to the state of the Dutch possessions to the eastward, and as rumours were afloat of a projected armament going against the Isle of France, it occurred to me that the information I possessed respecting Java might be useful, and possibly turn the attention of our Government in that direction. I accordingly left my family and proceeded to Calcutta in a small and frail vessel, the only one which offered, but in which all my future prospects had well nigh perished. On my arrival in Bengal I met with the kindest reception

from Lord Minto. I found that though the appointment to the Moluccas had not actually taken place, it was promised to another. I in consequence relinquished all idea of it, and at once drew his Lordship's attention to Java, by observing that there were other islands worthy of his Lordship's consideration besides the Moluccas; Java, for instance. On the mention of Java his Lordship cast a look of such scrutiny, anticipation, and kindness upon me, as I shall never forget—'Yes,' said he, 'Java is an interesting island—I shall be happy to receive any information you can give me concerning it.' This was enough to encourage me; and from this moment all my views, all my plans, and all my mind were devoted to create such an interest regarding Java as should lead to its annexation to our Eastern empire, although I confess that I had never the vanity to expect that, when this object was accomplished, so important an administration would have been intrusted to my individual charge, that I should have been intrusted with what Mr. Marsden emphatically observes was 'as great a charge as a nation could intrust to an individual.'

"It is unnecessary to enter on the detail which followed—the fall of Bourbon, and the anticipation of success at the Isle of France, encouraged a plan for the conquest of Java. As it in a great measure originated with me, and as it was almost entirely on my information that the decision was taken, I naturally took a conspicuous part, although little or nothing met the public eye. Per-



haps no secret was ever better kept than the projected scheme against Java, for until it was publicly announced, and the intention of the Governor-General to proceed in person was made known, not a word was surmised or whispered on the subject.

“As an *avant courier*, and to prepare the way for the expedition, I was appointed Agent to the Governor-General with the Malay states, and took up my headquarters at Malacca, where the rendezvous was fixed. I remained here as representative of the Governor-General until his Lordship arrived, when, instead of the designation of Agent, I was styled Secretary to the Governor-General; in this capacity I accompanied his Lordship to Java. Various doubts, difficulties, and, I might say, insurmountable obstacles, had been started to prove the impossibility of the expedition proceeding to Java during the present season. The opinion of the naval Commander-in-chief, and indeed of all constituted authorities, was decidedly against it—it was in fact pronounced impracticable. Lord Minto alone stood firm, and placed his entire and unreserved reliance in the opinion which I had given him on the subject. I had ascertained the practicability by an experiment in a small vessel, ‘the Minto,’ commanded by Captain Greigh, a most intelligent and zealous officer, who had been placed under my orders, and to whom I am indebted for the discovery of the passage by the coast of Borneo. At the period that the expedition sailed from Malacca, it was uncertain by which

route it would proceed. I really believe no fixed route was determined on, and Lord Minto had too much judgment and precaution to interfere. He placed the information he possessed within the reach of the senior naval officer, and fortunately it was acted upon. On the 4th of August, 1811, the whole of the fleet, consisting of upwards of ninety vessels, arrived off the coast of Java, without the loss of a single spar, or slightest accident, having passed by a route previously almost unknown, and accomplished a passage declared to be impracticable. I will not attempt to say what my feelings were on the occasion. We had separated from the fleet for a few days, and it was only when we again joined them that we saw all the divisions united, at the close of one of the finest days I ever recollect, and this in sight of the *land of promise*. Lord Minto, while at Malacca, had communicated his intention of appointing me to the government, in case of success, and as I had nothing to do with the military operations, I now looked upon my part as completed; perhaps so great a responsibility was never for so long on the head of a single individual, and the relief which I felt was proportionate."

Before the expedition sailed from Malacca, it was ascertained that Marshal Daendels had been succeeded in the government and command of Java by General Jansens, who was making all preparations within his power to meet the expected invasion by the English.

The following letter from Sir Samuel Achmuty to Lord Minto contains an account of the capture of Batavia.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD MINTO, GOVERNOR-  
GENERAL, &c. &c. &c.

*Head Quarters, Weltevreden, August 31, 1811.*

“ MY LORD,

“ After a short but arduous campaign, the troops you did me the honour to place under my orders have taken the capital of Java, have assaulted and carried the enemy’s formidable works at Cornelis, have defeated and dispersed their collected force, and have driven them from the kingdoms of Bantam and Jacotra. This brilliant success over a well-appointed and disciplined force, greatly superior in numbers and in every respect well equipped, is the result of the great zeal, gallantry, and discipline of the troops, qualities they have possessed in a degree certainly never surpassed. It is my duty to lay before your Lordship the details of their success, but it is not in my power to do them the justice they deserve, or to express how much their country is indebted to them for their great exertions.

“ Your Lordship is acquainted with the reasons that induced me to attempt a landing in the neighbourhood of Batavia. It was effected without opposition, at the village of Shillinching, twelve miles east of the city, on the 4th instant. My intention was to proceed from thence, by the direct road to Cornelis, where the enemy’s force was

said to be assembled in a strongly fortified position, and to place the city of Batavia in my rear, from whence alone I could expect to derive supplies, equal to the arduous contest we were engaged in.

“ As some time was required to make preparations for an inland movement, I judged it proper to reconnoitre the road by the coast leading to Batavia, and observe how far it would be practicable to penetrate by that route. I was aware that it was extremely strong, and if well defended nearly impracticable. Advancing with part of the army, I had the satisfaction to find that it was not disputed with us, and the only obstacle to our progress was occasioned by the destruction of the bridge over the Aujal river. I approached the river on the 6th, and observing, during that evening, a large fire in Batavia, I concluded it was the intention of the enemy to evacuate the city, and with this impression I directed the advance of the army, under Colonel Gillespie, to pass the river in boats on the succeeding night. They lodged themselves in the suburbs of the city, and a temporary bridge was hastily constructed on the morning of the 8th, capable of supporting light artillery. On that day the Burghers of Batavia applied for protection, and surrendered the city without opposition, the garrison having retreated to Weltevreden.

“ The possession of Batavia was of the utmost importance. Though large store-houses of public property were burnt by the enemy previous to their retreat, and every

effort made to destroy the remainder, we were fortunate in preserving some valuable granaries and other stores. The city, although abandoned by the principal inhabitants, was filled with an industrious race of people, who could be particularly useful to the army. Provisions were in abundance, and an easy communication preserved with the fleet.

“ In the night of the 8th, a feeble attempt was made by the enemy to cut off a small guard I had sent for the security of the place, but the troops of the advance had, unknown to them, reinforced the party early in the evening, and the attack was repulsed. The advance, under Colonel Gillespie, occupied the city on the 9th.

“ Very early on the morning of the 10th, I directed Colonel Gillespie with his troops to move from Batavia towards the enemy's cantonment at Weltevreedon, supported by two brigades of infantry that marched before break of day through the city, and followed his route. The cantonment was abandoned, but the enemy were in force a little beyond it, and about two miles in advance of their works at Cornelis. Their position was strong, and defended by an abbatis, occupied by 3000 of their best troops, and four guns of horse-artillery. Colonel Gillespie attacked it with spirit and judgment, and after an obstinate resistance, carried it at the point of the bayonet, completely routed their force, and took their guns. A strong column from these troops advanced to their support, but our line being arrived, they were instantly pur-

sued, and driven under shelter of their battaries. In this affair, so creditable to Colonel Gillespie, and all the troops of the advance, the grenadier company of the 78th, and the detachment of the 89th regiment, particularly distinguished themselves, by charging and capturing the enemy's artillery. Our loss was trifling compared with the enemy's, which may be estimated at about 500 men, with Brigadier-General Alberti dangerously wounded.

“ Though we had hitherto been successful beyond my most sanguine expectations, our farther progress became extremely difficult, and somewhat doubtful. The enemy, greatly superior in numbers, was strongly entrenched in a position between the great river of Jacotra, and the Sloken, an artificial water-course, neither of which was fordable. This position was shut up by a deep trench, strongly palisadoed. Seven redoubts, and many batteries, mounted with heavy cannon, occupied the most commanding grounds within the lines. The fort of Cornelis was in the centre, and the whole of the works were defended by a numerous and well-organized artillery. The season was too far advanced, the heat too violent, and our number insufficient to admit of regular approaches. To carry the works by assault was the alternative, and on that I decided. In aid of this measure, I directed some batteries to disable the principal redoubts, and for two days kept up a heavy fire from twenty eighteens, and eight mortars and howitzers. Their execution was great, and I had the pleasure to find, that though answered at the commencement of

each day, by a far more numerous artillery, we daily silenced their nearest batteries, considerably disturbed every part of their position, and were evidently superior in our fire.

“ At dawn of day on the 26th, the assault was made, the principal attack was intrusted to that gallant and experienced officer, Colonel Gillespie; he had the infantry of the advance, and the grenadiers of the line with him, and was supported by Colonel Gibbs, with the 59th regiment, and the 4th battalion of Bengal volunteers. They were intended to surprise, if possible, the redoubt constructed by the enemy beyond the Sloken, to endeavour to cross the bridge over that stream with the fugitives, and then to assault the redoubts within the lines; Colonel Gillespie attacking those to the left, and Colonel Gibbs to the right. Lieutenant-Colonel M'Cleod, with six companies of the 59th, was directed to follow a path on the bank of the great river, and when the attack had commenced on the Sloken, to endeavour to possess himself of the enemy's left redoubt. Major Yule, with the flank troops of the reserve, reinforced by two troops of cavalry, four guns of the horse-artillery, two companies of the 59th, and the grenadiers of the reserve, was directed to attack the troops at Campong Malayu, on the west of the great river, and endeavour to cross the bridge at that fort. The remainder of the army, under Major-General Wetherall, was at the batteries, where a column under Colonel Wood, consisting of the 78th regiment, and the

5th volunteer battalion, was directed to advance against the enemy in front, and at a favourable moment, when aided by the other attacks, to force his way, if practicable, and open the position for the line.

“ The enemy was under arms, and prepared for the combat, and General Jansens, the Commander-in-Chief, was in the redoubt where it commenced. Colonel Gillespie, after a long action through a close and intricate country, came on their advance, routed it in an instant, and, with a rapidity never surpassed and under a heavy fire of grape and musketry, possessed himself of the advanced redoubt. He passed the bridge with the fugitives, under a tremendous fire, and assaulted and carried with the bayonet the redoubt, after a most obstinate resistance. Here the two divisions of this column separated. Colonel Gibbs turned to the right, and with the 59th, and part of the 78th, who had now forced their way in front, carried the redoubt. A tremendous explosion of the magazine of this work (whether accidental or designed is not ascertained) took place at the instant of its capture, and destroyed a number of gallant officers and men, who at the moment were crowded on its ramparts, which the enemy had abandoned. The redoubt, against which Lieutenant-Colonel M'Cleod's attack was directed, was carried in as gallant a style; and I lament to state, that most valiant and experienced officer fell at the moment of victory. The front of the position was now open, and the troops rushed in from every quarter.



“ During the operations on the right, Colonel Gillespie pursued his advantage to the left, carrying the enemy’s redoubts towards the rear, as well as a park of artillery, in a most masterly manner, and putting to flight a body of the enemy’s cavalry, that formed and attempted to defend it. A sharp fire of musketry was now kept up, by a strong body of the enemy, who had taken post in the lines, in front of Fort Cornelis, but were soon driven from thence, the fort taken, and the enemy completely dispersed. They were pursued by Colonel Gillespie with the 14th regiment, a party of Sepoys, and the seamen from the batteries under Captain Sayer, of the Royal Navy; by this time the cavalry and horse-artillery had effected a passage through the lines, the former commanded by Major Travers, and the latter by Captain Noble; and, with the gallant Colonel at their head, the pursuit was continued till the whole of the enemy’s army was killed, taken, or dispersed.

“ Major Yule’s attack was equally spirited; but after routing the enemy’s force at Campong Malayu, and killing many of them, he found the bridge on fire, and was unable to penetrate farther.

“ I have the honour to enclose a return of the loss sustained, from our landing on the 4th to the 26th inclusive. Sincerely I lament its extent, and the many valuable and able officers that have unfortunately fallen; but when the prepared state of the enemy, their numbers, and the

strength of their positions are considered, I trust it will not be deemed heavier than might be expected. Theirs has greatly exceeded it: in the action of the 26th, the numbers killed were immense, but it has been impossible to form any accurate statements of the amount. About 1000 have been buried in the works; multitudes were cut down in the retreat; the rivers are choked up with the dead, and the huts and woods were filled with wounded, who have since expired. We have taken near 5000 prisoners, among whom are three general officers, 34 field-officers, 90 captains, and 150 subaltern officers. General Jansens made his escape with difficulty during the action, and reached Buitenzorg, a distance of thirty miles, with a few cavalry, the sole remains of an army of 10,000 men. This place he has since evacuated, and fled to the eastward. A detachment of our troops is in possession of it.

“ The superior discipline and invincible courage which has so highly distinguished the British army were never more fully displayed; and I have the heartfelt pleasure to add, that they have not been clouded by any acts of insubordination.

“ I have the honour to enclose a copy of the orders I have directed to be issued, thanking the troops in general for their services, and particularizing some of the officers, who from their rank or situations were more fortunate than their equally gallant companions, in opportunities for

distinguishing themselves, and serving their sovereign and their country.

“ But I must not omit noticing to your Lordship the very particular merit of Colonel Gillespie, to whose assistance in planning the principal attack, and to whose gallantry, energy, and judgment in executing it, the success is greatly to be attributed. To the general staff of the army, as well as my own staff, I feel myself particularly indebted. The professional knowledge, zeal, and activity of Colonel Eden, Quarter-Master-General, have been essentially useful to me; but I cannot express how much I have benefited by the able assistance and laborious exertions of Colonel Agnew, the Adjutant-General, an officer whose active and meritorious services have frequently attracted the notice, and received the thanks of the Government of India.

“ It is with particular pleasure I assure your Lordship that I have received the most cordial support from the Honourable Rear-Admiral Stopford, and Commodore Broughton, during the period of their commanding the squadron. The former was pleased to allow a body of 500 seamen, under that valuable officer, Captain Sayer, of the *Leda*, to assist at our batteries. Their services were particularly useful; and I have the satisfaction to assure you that both the Artillery and Engineers were actuated by the same zeal in performing their respective duties that has been so conspicuous in all ranks and departments, though, from the deficiency of the means at their

disposal, their operations were unavoidably embarrassed with uncommon difficulties.

“ I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

“ Your Lordship’s

“ Most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) “ S. ACHMUTY,

“ Lieutenant-General.”

The troops were landed on the 4th of August, 1811; the battle of Cornelis was fought on the 26th; Lord Minto published his Proclamation on the 11th of September; but the final capitulation of the island was not signed till the 18th of September, 1811, by General Jansens and Sir Samuel Achmuty, at Samarang, whither General Jansens had retreated after his defeat at Cornelis.

The following is a literal copy of a letter from General Jansens to a Dutch gentleman employed in a public capacity, which was intercepted, and is a curious specimen of official correspondence :—

“ *Samarang, le 2 Septembre, 1811.*

“ Avec indignation, j’ai reçu votre précédente lettre et la dernière du 30 d’Août de Samarang.

“ Si la Trésorerie du gouvernement, si celle des veuves et orphelines sera perdu, alors cela sera uniquement à attribuer à votre lâche, desobéissant, et infame comportement.

“ Vous n’avez aucun ami, jamais on ne rencontra personne, qui ne vous portât de haine ou ne vous méprisât, par expérience j’ai su, mais, hélas ! trop tard, qu’on vous a rendu justice, en vous détestant.

“ Votre beau frère répond avec activité à ses devoirs, il aura pour cela dans une âme calme, la récompense, mais cela sera toujours un creve cœur, d’avoir un indigne frère comme vous.

“ Que vous ayez peur pour des soldats sans subordination et pour des brigands, cela je ne prend pas de mal, mais vous saviez qu’il y avoit un centaine d’officiers en arrière de vous, et pour cela vous n’auriez pas dû abandonner contre votre serment et devoir, votre poste, mais rester dans le voisinage de ces officiers.

“ Mon devoir m’appelloit périr ici, pour rassembler tous les ressources qui existent encor, vous auriez dû faire autant, dans votre situation et les chefs de l’intérieur seroient certainement restés fidèles.

“ On se comptoit pour le plus grand malheur d’être votre subordonné, il est aussi bien misérable de vous avoir eu pour subalterne.

“ Le Gouverneur-Général.

“ Signed, W. JANSSENS.”

“ A Monsieur Vickens.”

(*Intercepted at Cheribon, 11th September, 1811.*)

Lord Minto announced the capture of Java to the authorities in England, in the following terms:—

“ An empire, which for two centuries has contributed

greatly to the power, prosperity, and grandeur of one of the principal and most respected states in Europe, has been thus wrested from the short usurpation of the French government, added to the dominion of the British crown, and converted from a seat of hostile machination and commercial competition, into an augmentation of British power and prosperity.”

The government of this empire was bestowed, with a feeling and confidence honourable to the giver, and no less gratifying to the person on whom such a high and noble trust was reposed,

Though partly pledged to another, Lord Minto declared he could not conscientiously withhold it from him who had won it; and, therefore, “as an acknowledgment of the services he had rendered, and in consideration of his peculiar fitness for the office,” he immediately appointed Mr. Raffles to it, under the title of Lieutenant-Governor of Java and its Dependencies.

The charge was of the most extensive, arduous, and responsible nature, comprising, on the island of Java alone, a population of six millions, divided into thirty residencies, under powerful chiefs, who had been long desirous of throwing off the European yoke, and who were consequently by no means disposed to submit quietly to the rule of their new governors.

Before the conquest of Java by the English, the Dutch had only subdued, unconditionally, one of the four prin-

cipal kingdoms into which the island was divided. The small kingdom of Jakotra, extending from Cheribon to Bantam, and in which the city of Batavia, so long the admiration and dread of the Eastern states, is situated, alone acknowledged the sovereignty of the European power; so that, in fact, the principal part of the island was still to conquer.

An event occurred at this time to interrupt the satisfaction, and humble the heart that might have been too much elated at the success which had crowned the expedition. Dr. Leyden was seized with a fever a few days after he reached those shores, on which he hoped to *slake his ardent thirst for knowledge*, and expired in the arms of his friend.

This loss was deeply mourned by Mr. Raffles, who had anticipated the happiness of having, as an inmate of his family, one with whom he could take counsel both in public and private; whose judgment would aid, whose affection would cheer, and whose society would brighten the care and troubles of the responsible situation he was about to undertake.

Lord Minto remained in Java six weeks, and was incessantly occupied in arranging the form of government, laying down the principles upon which it was to be conducted, forming plans for the suppression of piracy, and consulting with the future Governor of the island on various points of anticipated difficulty. One of two courses was to be taken: either to abandon the island to

the natives after having plundered it, or to retain it in our own hands.

It is difficult to imagine that the first-mentioned plan was ever agitated; but truth requires it to be stated, that it was seriously contemplated, and checked only by the energy and determination of Lord Minto. It has been already said, that he took upon himself the responsibility of acting on a more benevolent principle, and determined to do all in his power to promote the happiness of those whom the fortune of war had placed under his orders.

Mr. Raffles communicated to Mr. Marsden his appointment to the government of Java in the following letter:—

FROM MR. RAFFLES TO MR. MARSDEN.

*Weltevreden, (near Batavia,) Java,  
October 5th, 1811.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ THE press of public business at the present moment is so great, that I am sure you will excuse me from entering at length into any subject. The public prints will inform you of the great and invaluable conquest which we have made, and I shall only add that, after having been employed for above a year as agent to the Governor-General in obtaining information, forming plans, and bringing to a focus the intentions of government against this place, I have now the satisfaction to be installed Lieutenant-Governor of the Island of Java and its dependencies.



“ No man better than yourself can appreciate the value of this new acquisition to the British empire—it is in fact *the other India*.

“ My time has been so completely taken up in political operations, that I have been compelled for many months to leave my literary labours on the shelf untouched; but my present situation, and our new conquest, afford such a wide and unparalleled field for research, that I should be worse than Goth or Vandal if I allowed it to remain untried even in the literary way.

“ Lord Minto is now here, and we have it in contemplation to bring forward the Batavian Asiatic Society as soon as circumstances admit. I do not know whether you have heard that we held a meeting of the Asiatic Society at Malacca on our way down. I sent you from thence a paper of mine intended for the next volume of the *Researches*.

“ If it were possible to get it copied in time I would send you by the present conveyance a copy of my last report to Lord Minto on the eastward. I hope I shall be able to send it by the next ship, as it will put you in full possession of the enlarged views which have lately opened to us in the East.

“ You will, I am sure, condole with me, as the friend of literature and virtue, in the loss I have lately sustained in the death of my dear friend, Doctor Leyden;—he died at this place on the 27th of August, of a fever. We have lost in him a host of men. Had you known him, you

would never have ceased to deplore his death.—Eastern literature has lost in him its firmest support.

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*

“I am happy to inform you that I have large and valuable collections on various points connected with your favourite studies; these I shall, as soon as possible, put into some kind of form.

“I hope by the first arrival to receive your new edition of Sumatra. How goes on the Dictionary?

“Your’s faithfully,

“T. S. R.”

Lord Minto, during his stay in Java, made several arrangements for the suppression of piracy; and having, whilst he was at Malacca during the progress of the expedition, received ambassadors from the state of Banger Masing, courting the alliance of the English, his Lordship appointed Mr. Hare resident of this place, with the view of checking this destructive system of native warfare.

In order to appreciate the difficulties of the situation in which Mr. Raffles was placed, the extent of the changes which it was requisite to introduce, and the views which he formed of the principles of government, it will be necessary to advert very briefly to one or two leading principles of the Dutch rule.

One of the chief sources of the Dutch revenue was the monopoly by government of the grain and other

produce of the land, which the cultivators were required to deliver at an inadequate and arbitrary rate, which articles were afterwards dealt out to the consumer at a far higher price, so that, in fact, the whole body of the people depended on the government for their very subsistence. The principle of encouraging industry in the cultivation and improvement of the country, by creating an interest in the effort and fruits of that industry, was wholly unknown.

The mode of collecting this revenue in kind remained with the Regent of the district, leaving the cultivators no security beyond the claims of usage and custom; and although custom prescribed a certain portion only of the crop to be delivered, there were no positive means of preventing a greater levy. Thus, while the power and influence of authority could be successfully exerted to stifle complaints, the peasant, though suffering the greatest injustice, despairing of relief, would endure almost any privation and suffering rather than quit the land of his forefathers, to which he felt himself attached by the strongest ties of religion, of habit, and of affection.

Feudal service was another of the grievances and oppressions under which the natives groaned. No means existed of affording a direct control on the demands for labour. The public officers of the Dutch government universally employed the services of the people without regular hire. Their demands were unlimited. The native chiefs followed the same system. No check

existed; and thus the energies of the people were crushed, and their labour fritted away, becoming productive neither to themselves nor to the state. In short, they were reduced to the lowest state of vassalage and subjection. To this ruinous system was to be added the pressure arising from the failure of external commerce.

The Dutch government, forced to look within itself for relief, discovered the embarrassments to be daily increasing. Under this exigency, the funds of public societies were appropriated to the government treasury; and the private property of individuals was forcibly borrowed in the same manner. An arbitrary increase of paper-currency was issued, to provide for the daily expenses of the State; and this being found inadequate, the government were compelled to deliver a proportion of colonial produce in payment of these establishments, or, in other words, to pawn the produce in store, to satisfy the current demands upon the public treasury. Such was the financial state of the country at the period when the English assumed the administration of Java.

It would be endless to notice the difficulties and obstacles which occurred in the establishment of a pure and upright administration. Not only was the whole system previously pursued by the Dutch to be subverted, but an entirely new one substituted, as pure and liberal as the old one was vicious and contracted; and this was to be accomplished and carried into effect by the very persons who had so long fattened on the vices of the

former policy. Some few were sufficiently enlightened to perceive the advantages of the new system: two of these, Mr. Cransen and Mr. Muntinghe, on this account, were regarded by Mr. Raffles with the highest esteem.

Those who know how difficult it is to carry on a government, even where the choice of agents is great, where each well knows the duty which he has to perform, and where the state of society is such, that every man acts as a check upon his neighbour, will be able to appreciate the labour and the anxiety which devolved on Mr. Raffles, when Lord Minto left him to arrange the details of that system of which they had together formed the outline.

Buoyant in spirit and firm in courage, when once he had adopted a right principle of action, Mr. Raffles was keenly alive to the difficult and arduous task which he had to perform; responsible for all, at a distance from any superior authority, without one individual with whose principles he was acquainted, and of whose abilities he had any experience; yet forced to set the wheel of government in motion, and to watch its progress with unceasing attention, whilst all the details of every department were to be formed by himself; nothing but the facility of arrangement which he possessed could have accomplished so much with so little assistance, and in so short a time.

The manner and time of bringing about this change, however, required the most serious consideration; and before he took any decided step in the new organization,

he instituted statistical inquiries in every district, and collected the most detailed information in every department; the result of which convinced him that a thorough change in system was not only advisable and practicable, but indispensable, no less for the interests and honour of the British government, than for the happiness and prosperity of the country at large. He examined minutely every department; drew up himself every detail and instruction for the agents which he employed, and with all the courage of a pure and ardent mind, commenced that thorough reform, which with unwearied assiduity he laboured to establish during the whole period of his administration.

The result fully equalled the highest expectations and estimates which had been formed of its success: and so judiciously was the change introduced, that not a single individual, high or low, felt aggrieved by it; the native population, chiefs, subordinates, and people, with one accord, hailed the new order of things as a boon conferred upon them by British philanthropy, and entered on the enjoyment of its advantages with confidence and improving industry.

The first act of Mr. Raffles was to send English Residents to the native courts, and in the course of a month most of the expensive establishments of government were discontinued; the departments of revenue, commerce, and judicature, were materially reformed, and new arrangements adopted by the 1st of January, 1812. In connec-

tion with these important changes a general survey was made of the whole island; and detailed information collected in most of the districts of the lands attached to each village, while a body of valuable statistics was compiled and arranged, as well for the immediate use of government as for future historical reference. The labour attending the performance of such varied and extensive duties was naturally very great; Mr. Raffles had, fortunately, at this time sufficient vigour of body as well as of mind to devote himself to them from daylight until midnight.

The following is an extract from Captain Travers' Journal:—

“The official documents, already published, give a full, clear, and satisfactory account of the zeal and ability evinced by Mr. Raffles in the administration of Java, whilst few, perhaps, are aware of the application and attention which he devoted to his public duties. With a constitution already impaired by climate, every one was astonished at the exertion and fatigue he underwent; and the Dutch, who were altogether unaccustomed to witness such activity of mind and body, were unable to keep pace with him.

“The government of such an island as Java, with its dependencies, was a change of no trifling responsibility, and not the less so during the time of war; but Lord Minto judged correctly when he told Mr. Raffles

that it was not 'so much as an acknowledgment of his past services, as in consideration of his peculiar fitness for the office,' that he appointed him to the charge of such a government. Mr. Raffles was fully aware of the trust, and with all the ardour peculiar to himself commenced the task.

“ His mild, conciliating, and unassuming manners, obtained for him the respect and confidence of the Dutch, whilst the natives, who had been led to form the highest possible opinion of his character, looked with anxious hope for that amelioration in their condition which they afterwards experienced, and which will make his memory adored on the island of Java for ages to come.

“ Soon after the capture of the island, and when Lord Minto had gone to Bengal, Mr. Raffles removed from Ryswick to Buitenzorg, the country residence of the former Governor, distant forty miles from Batavia, and here he kept a most hospitable table. He went to Ryswick every week to attend the council, consisting of General, then Colonel, Gillespie, Commander of the forces, with Mr. Muntinghe and Mr. Cransen, Dutch gentlemen, who had held high situations under the former government. At Ryswick he remained a day or two, according to circumstances, and occasionally saw company there; but the climate at Buitenzorg being so far superior, he was always anxious to return, and seldom lost much time on the road, performing the journey in





View of the city of Mexico, from the mountains, 1800



four hours. He was most attentive to the members of the former government, who were constant guests at his table."

In a private letter, dated Batavia, in March 1812, to his friend the late Mr. Ramsay, Secretary to the East India Company, Mr. Raffles touches upon the internal arrangements connected with the government of Java.

"In this respect stand foremost the judicial and police arrangements. Previous to the establishment of the British government in Java, there was no distinction known between the police and the judicial administration of justice. At Batavia, however, there existed a Supreme Court of Judicature and a Bench or Court of Aldermen, called the College of Schepmen; and at Sourabaya and Samarang inferior courts of justice had been established; and in each district a court termed the Landrost, consisting of the Landrost, Regent, and Highpriest, exercised both the police and judicial jurisdiction; the only distinction which existed was, that all the Company's servants should be amenable to the regular courts of justice, or to the Supreme Court at Batavia, while all other persons of every description were under the jurisdiction of the Schepmen. A difference of persons was altogether so strongly against our principles of public justice, and public and individual right, and the principle on which such distinction might originally have been founded had so entirely ceased by the abolition of all distinction between the servants of the late Company

and all other individuals, that an entire change and separation of the police from the judicial authorities became necessary, and was directed by the instructions left with me by the Governor-General.

“The copy of the proclamation published in our first government gazette will sufficiently explain the principles on which we proceeded; and I flatter myself with the approbation, not only of the Governor-General, but of the authorities in England, of the measure taken by us of establishing the trial by jury, which I am happy to say has given universal satisfaction here; and although, with the other new arrangements, giving rise to new difficulties, is not likely to meet with any serious obstacle. The courts of justice and police, as new modelled, are now in full exercise; and I hope this colony may receive all the advantages of British jurisprudence, without entailing on it the disadvantages of a judicial establishment from England, of all things the most to be dreaded for the general prosperity and happiness of the population. The British courts of justice fit with difficulty our permanent English establishments in India; but here their introduction would only lead to anarchy, vexation, and trouble without end\*.

\* “PROCLAMATION.

“For the satisfaction of the inhabitants and people of Java, the following provisions are made public, in testimony of the sincere disposition of the British Government to promote their prosperity and welfare. The refusal of their late government to treat for their interests, although disabled by the events of war from affording them any

“ The Dutch law is directed by the proclamation of the Governor-General to be continued; but, in explanation

further protection, has rendered the consequent establishment of the British authority unconditional. But an English government does not require the articles of a capitulation to impose those duties which are prompted by a sense of justice and a beneficent disposition. The people of Java are exhorted to consider their new connexion with England as founded in principles of mutual advantage, and to be conducted in a spirit of kindness and affection.

“ Providence has brought to them a protecting and benevolent government: they will cheerfully perform the reciprocal duties of allegiance and attachment.

“ 1. His Majesty's subjects in Java will be entitled to the same general privileges as are enjoyed by the natural-born subjects of Great Britain in India, subject to such regulations as now exist, or may hereafter be provided, respecting residence in any of the Honourable Company's territories.

“ 2. They will have the same privilege and freedom of trade to and with all countries to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, and also with His Majesty's European dominions, as are possessed by natural-born subjects of Great Britain.

“ 3. Dutch gentlemen will be eligible to all offices of trust, and will enjoy the confidence of Government according to their respective characters, conduct, and talents, in common with British-born subjects.

“ 4. The vexatious system of monopoly which is understood to have heretofore prevailed in some instances to an oppressive and inconvenient extent, will be revised, and a more beneficial and politic principle of administration will be taken into consideration as soon, and to such extent, as full information on the subject can be obtained, as established usage and habit may admit, and as may be consistent with a due regard to the health and morals of the people.

“ 5. The Dutch laws will remain provisionally in force, under the modifications which will be hereinafter expressed, until the pleasure of the supreme authorities in England shall be known; and it is conceived that no material alteration therein is to be apprehended.

“ The modifications to be now adopted are the following:

“ First. Neither torture nor mutilation shall make part of any sentence to be pronounced against criminals.

of this law, it is necessary I should state, that the law of Java is not so much the national law of Holland as a

“ Secondly. When a British-born subject is convicted of any offence, no punishment shall be awarded against him more severe than would be inflicted by the laws of England for the same crime. And in case of doubt concerning the penalty by English law, reference shall be made to the Honourable the Recorder of Prince of Wales’ Island, whose report shall be a sufficient warrant for awarding the penalty stated by him to be agreeable to the laws of England. No sentence against any British-born subject for any crime or misdemeanor shall be carried into execution until a report shall have been made to the Lieutenant-Governor.

“ Thirdly. No sentence of death against any person whatever shall be carried into execution until a Report shall have been made to the Lieutenant-Governor.

“ Fourthly. The Lieutenant-Governor will have the power of remitting, moderating, or confirming all penalties, excepting inconsiderable fines, short imprisonment, or slight corporal punishment.

“ Fifthly. British-born subjects shall be amenable to the jurisdiction of the Dutch tribunals, and to the Dutch laws, in all cases of civil complaint, or demands, whether they be plaintiffs or defendants.

“ Sixthly. All British-born subjects shall be subject to the regulations of police, and to the jurisdiction of the magistrates charged with the execution thereof, and with the maintenance of the peace, and with public tranquillity and security.

“ Seventhly. All persons belonging to, or attached to the army, who are by their condition subject to military law, shall for the present be tried for any crimes they may commit only by courts martial, unless sent by the military authorities to civil courts.

“ Eighthly. It being necessary in all countries that a power should exist of forming regulations in the nature of legislative provisions adapted to change of circumstances, or to meet any emergency that may arise; and the great distance of the British authorities in Europe rendering it expedient that the said power should for the present reside in some accessible quarter, it is declared that the Lieutenant-Governor shall have full power and authority to pass such legislative regulations as on deliberation, and after due consultation and advice, may appear to him indispensably necessary, and that they shall have

colonial law. The foundation of this law is certainly that of the twelve tables. The civil law, or Roman code, and some of the general laws of the States-General, are made to apply; but the ordinary statutes, and those which apply in most instances, are either the statutes passed in Holland, or by the Supreme Government from time to time: these form a body of regulations and laws peculiarly adapted to the place; and if divested, as they are now directed to be, of cruelty and torture, and modified in some instances wherein the punishment of death may be considered to exceed the offence, perhaps the best that could be devised for this place. Whatever, therefore, may be necessary to be done in this respect, should be well considered and matured. The principle of the British law is acted up to in most cases, and it is only in local and provincial occurrences that this principle can be

the full force of law. But the same shall be immediately reported to the Governor-General in Council in Bengal, together with the Lieutenant-Governor's reasons for passing the said regulation, and any representations that may have been submitted to him against the same; and the regulations so passed will be confirmed or disallowed by the Governor-General in Council, with the shortest possible delay. The mode in which the Lieutenant-Governor shall be assisted with advice, will hereafter be made known; and such regulations will hereafter be framed as may be thought more conducive to the prompt, pure, and impartial administration of justice, civil and criminal.

“Regulations respecting the paper-currency, as well as the relative value of coins circulating in Java, will be published in a separate paper of this date.

“Done at Molenvliet the 11th September, 1811.

“By His Excellency the Governor-General of British India.

(Signed)

“MINTO.”

interfered with. In many instances the Dutch law, as it is termed, might be more properly called the common law, and at all events it is from its antiquity and long authority considered through the eastward as the law of the land.

“ In the collection of the revenue, the obnoxious system of farming has been abandoned as much as possible, and regular custom-houses have been established at Batavia, Samarang, and Sourabaya.

“ A system of duties has been established, founded, in some measure, on the extent of the duties heretofore collected, and with reference to the support of the dependent situations of Penang, Malacca, Bencoolen, and the Moluccas, which sooner or later must fall under the immediate government of this place, if Java continues a British settlement. The great quantity of prize property, and particularly of coffee, which still remains on this island, renders any change in the present system of coffee culture, as recommended by Lord Minto, impracticable; but I have great hopes that the accomplishment of the grand plan of amelioration in this and other respects, respecting the agriculture and cultivation of this island, is not far distant. I have an intelligent committee, of which Colonel Colin Mackenzie has done me the honour to be President, now sitting on the eastern part of the island, and from the result of their labours I trust to be possessed of such additional lights as may lead eventually to a complete change of the present system of landed property, with-



out which little can be expected. With the exception of the estates in the neighbourhood of Batavia, and of a few lately sold at Sourabaya, the whole landed property in Java is held on an acknowledged feudal tenure. The Soosohonan and Sultan are the lords paramount in their districts; and although the Company are literally so in the districts properly termed the Company's provinces, the power is transferred universally to the Regents, who on condition of furnishing a certain quota or contingent of produce, and in some cases of money, and rendering with their people certain feudal service when required, are possessed of absolute authority within their respective districts, keeping the common people throughout in the most abject state of vassalage. A material change was however effected with regard to the Regents by Marshal Daendels. Previous to his organization of the eastern districts, the Regents had been supposed to hold their authority of right, and their agreement with government was considered as a contract; but the Marshal, by a very laudable stroke of policy, rendered them immediately dependent on the European government, by giving them commissions and instructions as officers of government. This system has been followed up by the British government, and each Regent has received his commission, and taken an oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, and of obedience to the government of Java.

“By the next opportunity I shall have the satisfaction of forwarding to the authorities in England several re-

ports, from Dr. Horsfield and other scientific gentlemen, on the natural history of this island, and as the Batavian Literary Society have solicited that I should take that institution under the protection of government, I trust that by uniting our efforts with those of the Asiatic Society in Bengal, very considerable light may be shortly thrown on science and general knowledge. The numerous remains of Brahminical structures, in every part of the island, prove, beyond a doubt, that a colony of Hindus settled on this island about the first century of the Christian era; and the materials of which they are constructed, induce the belief that this colony must have emigrated from the Coromandel Coast.

“The beauty and purity of these structures are entirely divested of that redundancy of awkward and uncouth ornaments and symbols which are found in India. The interests of science and literature are by no means neglected on this island, and a valuable and highly interesting stock of information may be contemplated. A very extensive collection has been made by Dr. Horsfield, on account of government, of the objects in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, which are peculiar to this place; and the museum at the India-house will not be forgotten, as soon as occupations of a more pressing nature afford adequate leisure for an arrangement of our collections.

Mr. Raffles wrote at this time on the same subject to Mr. Marsden.

FROM MR. RAFFLES TO MR. MARSDEN.

*Buitenzorg, Java, 22d October, 1812.*

“ In one of your communications you desire to receive information respecting the Bohun Upas, which appears to have, of late, been brought particularly to notice. I have now the pleasure to transmit to you a full and satisfactory report on the subject by Dr. Horsfield, a gentleman whose attention has long been devoted to botanical discoveries in the natural history of this island.

“ Interested as you are in every thing which concerns the further East, it will be satisfactory to you to know, that by the present opportunity I have forwarded to the Court of Directors specimens of many of the plants of Java, as well as of many new animals. I have also forwarded to them a short account of the medical plants of Java, as well as a general mineralogical account of the island by Dr. Horsfield.

“ I find it difficult to procure copies of these papers for you, in consequence of the distress for copying-clerks ; but I hope you will be able to obtain the perusal of them.

“ The Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences is reviving, and I hope in another year the world will be presented with an additional volume of its transactions.

“ I am collecting for you a variety of inscriptions found in different parts of Java, and in Madura and Bali ; and, if possible, some of them shall be sent by the present conveyance. Drawings of all the ruined temples and

images are in hand, and it will not be long before I shall have it in my power to communicate to you fully, after surveying the whole. Vocabularies in the Javanese, Madurese, Bali, and Bugis languages are already completed, and others in hand.

“ Until I may be able to write to you more at length, the enclosed is a report of the small district of Pagitan, and affords a view of the habits and institutions of some of the Javanese.”

A short extract from Dr. Horsfield's account of the Upas may be interesting:—

“ The tree which produces the Upas poison grows in the eastern extremity of Java; it belongs to the 21st class of Linnæus, the *Monœcia*. The male and female flowers are produced in catkins (cementa) on the same branch, at no great distance from each other: the female flowers are in general above the male. The characters of the genus are: male flower, *calix* consisting of several scales, which are imbricate; *corol*, none; *stamens*, filaments many, very short, covered by the scales of the receptacle anthers. The receptacle on which the filaments are placed has a conical form, abrupt, somewhat rounded above. Female flower, catkins ovate, *calix* consisting of a number of imbricate scales, (generally more than in the male,) containing one flower; *corolla*, none; *pistil*, germ single, ovate, erect; *styles*, two, long, slender, spreading; *stigmas*, simple, acute; seed-vessel an oblong drupe, covered with the calix; *seed* an ovate nut, covered with

one cell. This tree is one of the largest in the forests of Java; the stem is cylindrical, perpendicular, and rises, completely naked, to the height of sixty, seventy, or eighty feet. Near the surface of the ground it spreads obliquely, dividing into numerous broad appendages, or wings; it is covered with a whitish bark: near the ground this bark is, in old trees, more than an inch thick, and upon being wounded, yields plentifully the milky juice from which the celebrated poison is prepared. The sap is contained in the tree-bark (or cortex). The inner bark (or liber) of young trees is employed by the poorer class of people in making a coarse stuff, which they wear when working in the fields; but persons wearing this dress, on being exposed to the rain, are affected with an intolerable itching, which renders their flimsy covering almost insupportable. The deleterious quality of the poison exists in the gum; the preparation of a poison from which is an exclusive art of the inhabitants of the eastern extremity of the island.

“ In clearing new grounds near the tree, the inhabitants do not like to approach it, as they dread the cutaneous eruption which it is known to produce when newly cut down. But, except when the tree is largely wounded, or when it is felled, by which a large portion of the juice is disengaged, the effluvia of which mixing with the atmosphere, affects the persons exposed to it with the symptoms just mentioned, the tree may be approached and ascended like the other common trees in the forests.

Like all other trees in its neighbourhood, it is surrounded by shrubs and plants.

“ One of the Regents had caps, or bonnets, prepared from the inner bark, which were stiffened in the usual manner with rice-water, and handsomely painted, for the purpose of decorating his attendants ; but they all refused to wear them, asserting that they would cause their hair to fall off.

“ The following is a description of the mode of preparing this poison. About eight ounces of the juice from the tree, which had been collected during the preceding evening, and preserved in a joint of a bamboo, was carefully strained in a bowl. The sap of the following substances, which had been finely grated and bruised, was carefully expressed and poured into it; viz.—arum, ammonium, common onion, and garlic, each about half a drachm ; the same quantity of finely-powdered black pepper is then added, and the mixture stirred. A single seed of the *capsicum fruticosum* was then placed on the fluid, in the middle of the bowl; the seed began to reel round rapidly, now forming a regular circle, then darting towards the margin of the cup, with a perceptible commotion on the surface of the liquor, which continued one minute. Being completely at rest, the same quantity of pepper was again added, and another seed of the *capsicum* laid on as before : a similar commotion took place in the fluid, but in a less degree, and the seed was carried round with diminished rapidity. The addition of the

same quantity of pepper was repeated a third time, when a seed of the capsicum being carefully placed in the centre of the fluid, remained quiet, forming a regular circle in the fluid resembling the halo of the moon. This is the sign that the preparation of the poison is complete."

The common train of symptoms, is a trembling of the extremities, restlessness, erection of the hair, affection of the bowels, drooping and faintness, slight spasms and convulsions, hasty breathing, an increased flow of saliva, spasmodic contractions of the pectoral and abdominal muscles, retching, vomiting, great agony, laborious breathing, violent and repeated convulsions, death.

The action of the Upas poison is directed chiefly to the vascular system. The volume of the blood is accumulated in a preternatural degree in the large vessels of the thorax.

The circulation appears to be extracted from the extremities and thrown upon the viscera near its source. The lungs in particular are stimulated to excessive exertions. The vital viscera are oppressed by an intolerable load, which produces the symptoms above described, while in the extremities a proportionate degree of torpor takes place, accompanied by tremors, shiverings, and convulsions.

The natives of Macassar, Borneo, and the Eastern Islands, when they employ this poison, make use of an arrow of bamboo, (to the end of which they attach a shark's tooth) which they throw from a blow-pipe or sompit.

The Upas appears to affect different quadrupeds with

nearly equal force, proportionate in some degree to their size and disposition.

As soon as Mr. Raffles could command sufficient leisure he visited the Eastern districts, and gave the following short account of his journey to Lord Minto:—

“ I shall only say I was most highly gratified and satisfied with every thing I saw ; it is impossible to conceive any thing more rich than the country, both in cultivation and scenery. I was happy to perceive that between Samarang and Sourabaya, neither the country nor the establishments had suffered from the effects of the expedition, and that every thing was going on as if nothing had happened. I left Batavia on the 28th November, 1811, and landed at Samarang, after a tedious passage, on the 4th December ; from thence I visited Sourabaya and Madura on my return, and reached Buitenzorg on the 1st of January. To give an idea of the high state of the roads, and of the facility of communication in every part of the island, it may be sufficient that I inform you, that from Sourabaya to Samarang, 200 miles, I was only twenty-four hours on the road, and from thence to Buitenzorg only two days and a half, and this without any fatigue.”



## CHAPTER V.

*Expedition to Palembang—Arrival, of the Troops—Gallantry of the attack—Horrors of the scene—Colonel Gillespie's account of the Sultan—Measures adopted by Colonel Gillespie—Sultan of Djocjocarta—Mr. Raffles collects troops, and proceeds to Samarang—Account of treaties with the Sultan—General confederacy of the native states—Unexpected and fortunate return of Colonel Gillespie—Assault and capture of Djocjocarta—European power first paramount in Java.*

THE apparent tranquillity which followed the success of the British arms (1812) was but of short duration. The state of some of the native powers on Java, particularly that of Djocjocarta, and the proceedings of the Sultan of Palembang, a dependency situated in the island of Sumatra, soon called for prompt and decisive measures, as will be seen by the following extract of a letter from Mr. Raffles to the Governor-General, dated the 7th March, 1812:—

“ I have the honour of reporting to your Lordship, that on the 2d November last, finding that the season of the year afforded the probability of communicating with Palembang, I despatched a commission to that place, consisting of Captain Phillips, Mr. Wardenar\*, and Mr.

\* Late Member of the Supreme Council of Batavia.

Hare\*, for the purpose of taking charge of the Dutch factory there, in pursuance of the capitulation, and of delivering the same over to Lieutenant Jackson, whom I had appointed provisionally to act as Resident.

“ From a perusal of the documents now transmitted, your Lordship will observe, that the importance of the island of Banca and of the tin-trade occupied, at an early period after your departure, my most serious attention. Desirous of avoiding any unnecessary breach with any of the Eastern chiefs, I endeavoured to attain the object which government had in view by an amicable arrangement, on terms far more advantageous and liberal to the Sultan of Palembang than he had enjoyed under the Dutch government. The residency of Palembang, as a former dependency of Java, having by right of conquest, and by the express articles of the capitulation, fallen under the British dominion, the object of the commission was to have this right acknowledged by the Sultan, and the privileges stipulated by the former contracts transferred to the British government. This being effected, it was intended to grant more liberal terms than ever were enjoyed by the Sultan, previous to the conquest of Java.

“ The commission, however, instead of meeting with such a reception at Palembang, as from the nature of their appointment they were entitled to expect, found the Sultan not only averse to acknowledging any of the

\* Appointed by Lord Minto Resident of Sambas in Borneo.

claims on which this negotiation was founded on the part of the British government, but in such a disposition as rendered all attempts to enter into a new contract with him fruitless and abortive. He not only treated with a kind of ridicule and neglect the claims of the British government to the contracts which subsisted with the former government before the conquest of Java, but rejected with disdain the new terms which were offered to him. The Sultan altogether disregarded the representations on the part of the British government, until he received authentic accounts of the fall of Batavia; and then, instead of listening to the demands of my agents, Toonkoo Radin Mahomet and Syed Abu Bakir, that he should consider the Dutch property and inhabitants as under the protection of the English, who had conquered Java and all its dependencies, he declared in a haughty manner his intention of maintaining his entire independence of any power on earth. Struck, however, by the sudden, and to him certainly unexpected news, of the complete conquest of Java by the English, the Sultan became anxious for his future fate, and by threats and force compelled my agents to sign and seal false reports, forged by the Sultan and addressed to me, in which it was stated that the Dutch garrison had, agreeably to their request, been sent to Batavia, and the fort razed to the ground, long previous to the attack upon the island of Java by the British troops; and to cover the falsehood of this report (on the faith of which he had laid the

foundation of his future independence), he formed the diabolical plan of destroying every witness who might hereafter appear against him, sending the Dutch inhabitants in small prows down the river, where they were murdered by order of the Sultan, and ordering my agents to appear before him, that they might share the same fate.

“ Considering all these facts, the evident hostile manner in which the Sultan behaved to the acknowledged native agents from the British government; the treacherous and barbarous manner in which he destroyed the property and murdered the presumptive subjects of this government; the arrogant and offensive manner in which he rejected the most liberal proposition for an amicable arrangement, which this government, ignorant of the events which had taken place, made to him by means of the commission, and the consequent certainty therefrom that all further attempts for an amicable arrangement would be as vain in effect as they would be unbecoming in principle to the character of the British nation, it has been left for me to resolve upon some immediate and decisive measure, consistent with the dignity and interests of government.

“ A commanding force under Colonel Gillespie will embark in two days, and I trust, in less than a month, that I may be in possession of satisfactory accounts of the result. I am aware that I have taken much responsibility on myself in the adoption of hostile measures against

Palembang, without previous reference to Bengal; but so many favourable circumstances concurred to induce the measure, and so many obstacles in the way of its final success appeared to present themselves in the event of delay, that I should not have felt myself justified to have lost the opportunity of so much larger a force than could ever have been subsequently left at our command. In fact, the expedition must either have taken place now or been delayed another year, and this consideration of itself was enough to outweigh every objection; the passage to Palembang from Batavia may at the present season of the year be effected in five or six days, and the returning voyage may be accomplished during the same period. I have provisionally appointed a Resident for Banca, and I trust my next letter will communicate favourable intelligence on this point. There is one thing I have never noticed regarding Banca, and that is, the harbour of Klabbat, stated to be the most secure in India, and capable of every defence—the entrance to the harbour being between two rocks or promontories, not half-pistol-shot from each other, and a bason within, with fine bottom and deep water, capable of containing, it is said, the navy of England. It is directly in the route for our trade through the China seas, and the situation of Minta, on which it is projected, to form the first settlement in Banca, is perhaps the most commanding that could be chosen for the Eastern seas. If possible, I will forward more particulars, but the total want of clerks who can

copy English legibly, forms at present a serious obstacle to the transmission of all papers."

An expedition was accordingly fitted out under the command of Colonel Gillespie, who was entrusted with the execution of the views of government, and who had the whole management confided to his individual judgment and direction. The fleet consisted of his Majesty's ship *Cornelia*, Captain Owen; *Bucephalus*, Captain Drury; sloop *Procris*, Captain Freeman; the Honourable Company's cruizer, *Teignmouth*, Captain Howitson; *Mercury*, Captain Conyers. Gun-boats: schooner *Wellington*, Captain Cromy; *Young Barracouta*, Captain Lynch. Transports: *Samdany*, *Minerva*, *Matilda*, and *Mary Ann*.

Captain Bowen, of his Majesty's ship *Phœnix*, meeting it at sea, took the command of the fleet as senior officer.

#### TROOPS EMBARKED.

Detachment of his Majesty's 59th regiment, three companies, rifle and flank companies.

Ditto 89th regiment, five companies.

Ditto, Madras horse-artillery and hussars dismounted.

Detachment of Bengal artillery; detail and detachment of sepoy, 5th and 6th battalions.

Ditto, Amboynese.

A considerable number of guns and military stores, intended for the new settlement of Banca, were put on board the transports.

Contrary winds and currents, which during the western monsoon are violent and unchangeable, still maintained their influence at this advanced season, and considerably retarded the progress of the expedition, which reached Nanka Island on the 3rd of April, 1812, where it continued a week at anchor. Tents were pitched on shore, and all the artificers were employed in the completion of the boats intended for the passage up the Palembang river, by constructing platforms for the field-pieces, and making coverings to shelter the troops as much as possible from the burning violence of the solar heat, and the inclemency of the nocturnal air.

The fleet was supplied with water of a very good quality at this island, which is covered with wood, and inhabited by bears, monkeys, and wild-hogs. Fish was in great abundance, and pirates frequently visit the place to take in water and fuel.

The armament got under weigh on the 10th of April, and came to an anchor on the 15th at noon, opposite the west channel of Palembang river.

The unavoidable delay which the expedition experienced, by encountering contrary winds and currents in the straits, afforded ample time to the guilty Sultan to prepare either for resistance or flight. With a view to the latter course, he had removed his treasure and women, at a very early period, into the interior; whilst himself and his ministers sent message after message to the British Commander, filled with expressions of respect,

and framed with apparent candour, but hypocritical in their language, and treacherous in their object.

The continuance of the ebb tide during the whole of the 19th of April obliged the fleet to remain stationary till about four in the afternoon, when a gentle sea breeze favouring its progress, enabled the flotilla to move, though it was only for a short distance, as the wind soon failed, and the flood tide being very slack, some of the vessels got entangled among the branches of the trees and bushes, which therefore it was necessary to cut away. At the turn of the tide, which was about six on the following morning, the flotilla came to an anchor.

In the early part of the day Pangarang Sheriff arrived from the Sultan of Palembang, begging to know the intention of the British Commander in thus advancing with such a force; to which Colonel Gillespie returned for answer, that he must acquaint the Sultan in person with the propositions he was entrusted with on the part of his government, and the messenger returned immediately.

At five in the evening the fleet proceeded on its passage; but the tide becoming slacker every day in proportion to its distance from the sea, and the wind being adverse, it did not gain above six miles all night; the ebb tide occurring at six the next morning, the 21st of April, it anchored near the junction of False River.

Another messenger, Pangarang Pranah, arrived in the morning from Palembang, bringing with him a letter from the Sultan, to whom he was related. In this epistle the



crafty monarch congratulated the Commander on his arrival in the river Soosang, professing at the same time to be the friend of the English, the design of which was too obvious to impose upon those who were acquainted with the writer's character. Colonel Gillespie replied that he meant to be at Palembang in two days, where he expected to see the Sultan, having matters to disclose to him in person of the greatest consequence; and at the same time assuring the inhabitants of Palembang of the protection of the British Government. Before the ambassador could receive this reply in writing, another messenger arrived with a similar letter from the Sultan, requesting an immediate explanation. Both the Sultan's agents, therefore, returned together, about five in the evening; and as soon as the tide permitted, at seven, the flotilla got under way. At sun-rise, on the 22d April, the batteries at Borang were descried.

In the course of the forenoon Captain Owen, of the royal navy, with Major Thorn, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, reconnoitred the batteries and armed prows stationed there, which had been joined by a large Arab ship, armed for the occasion, and sent down from Palembang by the Sultan to add to the defence of this post. These vessels, with the floating batteries, were moored across the river in echelon, raking with their guns the whole length of the passage, whilst the numerous artillery on the three fixed batteries bore across on the channel by which the advance was to be made, thus enabling the

enemy to bring the fire of their guns almost to a ray on any point in the line of advance. Numerous fire-rafts were placed on the front and flank of the batteries, ready to be set adrift to fire the shipping. Piles of wood driven into the river defended the approach to the batteries, in boats, whilst a strong palisade protected the rear and flanks. A great deal of bustle and activity was observable within the several defences, which appeared to be fully manned and prepared for resistance.

The violent rain, which lasted all the afternoon, and continued during the night, proved of considerable annoyance, particularly to the men who were embarked in boats. Great indeed, and scarcely to be conceived, was the fatigue the sailors and soldiers had to undergo in a region where, during the day they were exposed, while employed in laborious rowing, to the rays of a burning sun, directly under the equator, and deprived in the night of the refreshment of sleep.

But notwithstanding the excessive hardships which all ranks and descriptions of persons in the service were called to bear, and the privations they had to endure, nothing could shake their resolution or abate their ardour in the performance of their duty.

In the evening another messenger, named Pangarang Martoo, arrived with a letter from the Sultan, importing that he should be happy to see his friend, the Commander of the expedition, at Palembang; but requesting that he would dispense with so large an armed force, and visit the

capital unattended, being fearful, as he pretended, that the appearance of so many troops would occasion serious disturbances among the inhabitants of Palembang.

It was easy enough to perceive the insidious drift of this proposition; but the treachery of the Sultan had already been too notorious to allow such fallacious declarations and hollow professions the slightest respect, or even a moment's attention.

Colonel Gillespie demanded of the messenger who last arrived, an unmolested passage up the river, and also a hostage as a security for their good behaviour; to which Pangarang Martoo instantly assented, offering at the same time to give possession of the batteries, and to leave them entirely at the disposal of the Colonel; the ship that was lying there was also to be made use of as the British Commander might please to direct. As a pledge of their sincerity, a person bearing the title of Commandant of the batteries, and who accompanied the messenger, remained behind for the purpose of conducting the troops to Borang.

The proper arrangements being made to secure these objects, on the following night Captain Meares, Malay interpreter to the Commander of the forces, was directed to proceed to Borang, accompanied by the officer who had been left as a hostage, and to demand a decisive answer whether or not they would let the batteries be taken possession of amicably, or whether they would resist the passage of the flotilla. No time was allowed for equivo-

cation on the part of the Chief Pangarang, and Colonel Gillespie followed close after, at the head of the small, but formidable array of the British advance, composed of detachments of the 59th and 89th regiments, in light boats, supported by the gun-launches and field-artillery in the flat-boats. On their arrival at the dawn of day within half-gun-shot distance of the batteries, the Pangarang came off with Captain Meares, and offered to deliver up the works with all the other defences, which, in consequence, were immediately occupied by the British troops. The garrison, terrified at their sudden approach, and unmindful of the positive orders of the Sultan to defend the passage to the last, took themselves to flight, and escaped in some prows that had been kept concealed round the eastern part of Borang Island, and on the western side of Binting Isle. All the guns taken, to the number of one hundred and two, were readily charged and primed. The large ship afforded quarters for a great portion of the soldiers, but the remainder were placed in huts and floating batteries which had coverings.

In the evening the troops were all re-embarked, and proceeded on to a little distance. Fires now appeared in all directions, and several of the rafts were set in flames by the enemy, with the view of effecting, if possible, the destruction of the shipping, which had not as yet passed the batteries; but though they were coming up at this time (8 P.M.) fortunately the exertions of Captain Owen with the crews of the light boats were successful in cutting

the rafts asunder before they were thoroughly in flames, by which means a general conflagration was seasonably prevented. Several shots were fired from one of the *Cornelia's* boats at the Malays, who were seen setting fire to the rafts, which had the effect of instantly dispersing them.

Early on the following morning, the 25th of April, an Arab arrived who stated himself to be the owner of the ship before mentioned, and begging that she might be restored, which request was granted. He brought information that the Sultan immediately fled from Palembang on learning that the defences at Borang, which had been considered such a formidable barrier, no longer obstructed the further progress of the British troops.

Colonel Gillespie, on hearing this, determined to push forward with the light boats; and whilst making this arrangement another Arab arrived, the Pangarang Sheriff, who confirmed the account of the Sultan's flight; adding the afflicting intelligence, that the greatest confusion, plunder, and assassination prevailed, not only within the interior of the fort and palace, but in many parts of the city. Upon this Colonel Gillespie resolved to lose not a moment, but to hasten by the quickest possible manner to put a stop to this scene of horror, and by his immediate presence prevent the execution of the massacre, which it was reported the Sultan's adherents meditated to perpetrate the very next night upon the wealthy Chinese and other inhabitants, whose property was to become the prize of the assassins.

The Colonel, therefore, proceeded instantly with the Arab chief in his canoe, accompanied by Captain Meares and Mr. Villneruhy, a Spanish gentleman, who acted as Malay interpreters. In that and another small canoe which accompanied them, were distributed seven grenadiers of the 59th regiment; and these were followed by Captain Bowen, of the Royal Navy; Major Butler, Deputy Adjutant-General; and Major Thorn, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, in the gig belonging to the Phoenix, and ten more grenadiers of the same regiment, in the barge of the same ship, with Lieutenant Monday, R.N., and Lieutenant Forrest, of the 59th; the remaining troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod, having orders to follow with all possible speed. The distance was twenty miles, so that it was dark when the party arrived at Old Palembang. The canoes, in one of which the Colonel was, had gained much on the other two boats, and were now completely out of sight, when a report of a signal-gun, fired by the enemy, not a little alarmed them, and increased the anxiety for the rest of the party; the more so, as every thing round tended to excite suspicion of some treacherous design being in agitation. A dreadful yell and shrieking in all directions was next heard, and lights and conflagrations were seen throughout the whole extent of this large tract of population, which stretched along both banks of the river for upwards of seven miles. By the redoubled exertions of the crews, the boats in the rear were soon brought up to the support of the little

band, and thus happily formed in time an important junction.

To paint the horrors of the scene that presented itself in their true colours, or to attempt an expression of the sensations it was calculated to excite, would be a difficult task; and the undaunted act which gained the possession of the fort, the palace, and its batteries, may be credited when the name of the leader is recollected. Undismayed in the face of numerous bodies of armed men, Colonel Gillespie boldly stepped on shore, at eight o'clock at night, and with those who had accompanied him in the canoe, and the seven grenadiers, he marched, with a firm step, through a multitude of Arabs and treacherous Malays, whose missile weapons, steeped in poison, glimmered by the light of torches.

Huge battlements, with immense gates, leading from one area to another, presented the frightful spectacle of human blood still reeking and flowing on the pavement. The massive gates closed upon the rear, and the blood-stained court-yards through which the party were conducted appeared as if they were the passage to a slaughter-house.

A Malay, who had pressed through the crowd, approached the Colonel, and was walking by his side, when a large double-edged knife was secretly put into his hands by one of his countrymen. It was a dark stormy night, and a ray of lightning, at the very instant when the man was pushing the knife up his long loose sleeve

to conceal it, discovered the weapon. The Colonel's eye caught the object, and instantly turning round, he had the fellow seized, totally regardless of the crowd; thus fortunately frustrating, by his firmness, the murderous design. The weapon was found as described; but the man contrived to steal away in the crowd, and escaped.

The palace exhibited a melancholy picture of devastation and cruelty. Murder had been succeeded by rapine; and while the place was completely ransacked, the pavements and floors were clotted with blood. In every direction spectacles of woe caught the sight, and were rendered peculiarly awful by the glare of the surrounding conflagration, accompanied by vivid flashes of lightning, and loud peals of thunder.

The flames, which continued to spread destruction, notwithstanding the rain that poured down in torrents, had reached the outer buildings of the palace, and threatened the part where the Colonel, with his party, had taken up their temporary abode. The crackling of bamboos, resembling the discharge of musquetry; the tumbling in of burning roofs with a tremendous crash; the near approach of the fire, in the midst of an immense hostile multitude and assassins; altogether gave to their situation a most appalling prospect.

The little band, consisting only of seventeen British grenadiers, with the officers naval and military already mentioned, and a few seamen belonging to the gig and barge, had to secure possession of the fort, and to provide



for their safety, in the determined resolution of selling their lives dearly, should any attack be made before the arrival of reinforcements. Having carefully reconnoitred by the light of torches the interior of the palace court, and ordered all the entrances except one to be shut and barricadoed, Colonel Gillespie stationed the grenadiers at the principal entrance, and the strictest guard was kept up. Soon after midnight they had the satisfaction of hailing the welcome arrival of Major Trench, with about sixty men of the 89th regiment; and the remaining part of the ordered advance, under Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod, joined the little garrison early the next morning.

Thus an act of daring enterprise, conceived with judgment and executed with intrepidity, gained possession of the fort and batteries defended by two hundred and forty-two pieces of cannon, without the loss of a man. This formidable position could not have been carried under any other circumstances of attack, but by the sacrifice of many lives, and by hazarding altogether the safety of the little armament.

The rapidity of the movement, and the sudden and unexpected arrival of the few British at that late hour in the evening, whose numbers were greatly magnified by the panic which seized the foe, caused the immediate dispersion of the Sultan's adherents, who fled in confusion, and thus relieved the town from the miseries with which it was threatened, of plunder and destruction. An American, who was the supercargo of a large Chinese junk then lying

at Palembang, gave a melancholy description of the fate with which they were threatened, and which would have burst on them that very night, had the English not arrived in time to prevent it. This junk, with all on board, had in fact been marked out as the first victims.

The measures taken to restore order and maintain tranquillity were so effectual, that the inhabitants assumed confidence, and many who had fled into the woods returned to their homes. The great body of the people were pleased at the change, and rejoiced in being relieved from the tyranny of the Sultan, which seemed to have attained its height.

The following report made to the Lieutenant-Governor by Colonel Gillespie, when at Palembang, of the atrocious conduct of the deposed Sultan, is given at length for the purpose of showing the strong appeal made on the ground of humanity to the British government to interpose in putting a stop to the dreadful scenes of cruelty and oppression which were daily occurring.

TO THE HONOURABLE T. S. RAFFLES, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR,  
&c. &c. &c.

“HONOURABLE SIR,

“AS I have been lately employed in acquiring every information connected with the barbarous and cruel murder of the Dutch factory and garrison at Palembang, I have deferred the transmission of any official report to you upon this melancholy subject, until I should have obtained

the most accurate knowledge of all the particulars, that the atrocity of the transactions enabled me to collect. In my inquiries, I have been occasionally so bewildered by falsehood, guilt, and prevarications, that I have experienced considerable difficulty in selecting the evidences most worthy of attention. The choice, however, has been made with the greatest care, and I imagine the circumstances which I shall now relate to you may be considered in every way deserving of belief.

“You are not ignorant that Pangerang Rattoo, the eldest son of the late Sultan, is one of the most abominable and unprincipled villains that ever disgraced humanity. The crimes committed by this barbarous and sanguinary assassin, since the period he has been enabled to indulge his abandoned inclinations, have been distinguished by circumstances of such aggravated cruelty and guilt, that the inhabitants of the kingdom have beheld him with one common sentiment of horror, hatred, and indignation. It is to the crimes of this iniquitous monster that the massacre of the Dutch may originally be attributed; to the indulgence of his vicious propensities that his father is now indebted for banishment and degradation.

“Among other pursuits that were followed by him with great avidity, was that of spearing the unhappy and defenceless wretches whom he accidentally encountered in his lawless excursions, or of sacrificing their wives and daughters to his abandoned cruelty and passions. In

one of these infamous adventures he became enamoured of a Chinese woman, whom he was determined to obtain ; and, lest he should fail in support of his dark and diabolical character, he resolved on compelling the unfortunate husband to assist in the completion of his wife's dishonour. The refinement thus exercised upon cruelty and rapine was more than the unfortunate husband could sustain without complaint. He knew himself to be in the neighbourhood of the Dutch garrison, and called loudly from his house for protection and assistance. An armed party was detached to his aid, and pursued the Pangerang Rattoo to his prow on the river, without being sensible of the dignity they were so successfully routing ; the discovery of this unpleasant truth was made by himself before their separation. The boat was moored several yards from the shore, and in consequence he was compelled to swim a considerable distance before his escape was complete. No sooner, however, had he gained his canoe than he turned to his pursuers, and cried with the most callous effrontery, ' You are ignorant,' said he, ' of the influence and power you have so audaciously defied ; know, to your confusion, that it is the Pangerang Rattoo himself, and rest assured that in three days you shall all of you be murdered, and your present habitations rendered such a scene of desolation, that they shall only be fit for birds to build their nests on.'

“ The accomplishment of this barbarous purpose was too successfully realized within the period specified by the

Pangerang Rattoo. A message was sent to the Resident, the Commandant, and principal officers of the garrison, in which the Sultan requested them to appear in his presence for the transaction of some important business. The designing cowards took advantage of this treacherous manœuvre to introduce within the walls of the fort a multitude of armed Malays, as the followers of the great men who brought the message from the Sultan.

“The unwary and confiding Dutchmen, unsuspecting of evil intentions, were speedily surrounded without the hope of escape; the guns were all seized by parties on the ramparts, and the unfortunate garrison were dragged to a scene of cold-blooded cruelty, which can never be contemplated but with sentiments of horror and abhorrence, proportioned to the enormity of such unmerited and unprovoked violence.

“Among the agents and instruments of this sanguinary transaction, there is no character so remarkably prominent as that of Tumugung Lonong, the principal magistrate of the town. He was not only the harbinger of treachery and deceit in the first instance, but he was subsequently the promoter of the Sultan’s cruelty, and his adviser to destroy the fort, and leave no vestige of Dutch property remaining, in Palembang, in order that they might for ever be exempted from an alliance with European nations.

“In considering the choice of an ambassador to our government, I cannot sufficiently express my astonishment

at the boldness and audacity of the Sultan, who selected this infamous assassin as his agent and representative in Java.

“The very countenance of the villain betrays the guilt of which he is capable, and the unwearied obstinacy with which, in spite of every proof, he denied all knowledge of the transaction, proclaims him, in my opinion, to have been deeply involved in the commission of the murder, and clearly meriting the most exemplary punishment. I have, therefore, stipulated most expressly with Adipattie, that all the promoters and abettors of this inhuman massacre shall be treated with great severity; that their property shall be sequestered the moment they are known, and a portion of it laid aside for the support of the wives and orphans who have been so cruelly deprived of their natural protectors.

“There was one European woman among the unhappy victims thus sacrificed by the Sultan. She was embarked on the boats, and after suffering every violence and pollution her abandoned murderers were capable of offering her, she was inhumanly butchered and thrown into the river with the rest of the garrison.

“The remaining women were sent as slaves up the country, and the relation of distress, starvation, and misery they encountered in their bondage, is calculated to excite such sentiments of horror and indignation against the whole race, that at times I can with difficulty hold intercourse with people allied to such monsters of barbarity.

“ There was no punishment too severe, no persecution too considerable, no degradation too humiliating for these unhappy women. The Resident’s wife was pregnant at the time of her seizure, and although I should consider few men capable of refusing pity and assistance to women thus situated, they were unmindful of her claims to compassion, and they left her in the jungle without nourishment, support, or shelter.

“ To detail the various miseries they suffered in slavery would occupy more time than I have at present in my power to bestow; their food was always precarious, and during months they lived on beetle-nut, or the refuse of the dunghill; in short, there was no refinement of oppression to which they were not subjected by this despotic tyrant.

“ Their joy on emancipation is proportioned to the severity of their former sufferings, and their gratitude to the government is animated and sincere. Except the one previously specified, they are nearly all of them under my protection, and I shall take the earliest opportunity of either forwarding them to their friends at Java, or permit them to remain on the island of Banca until some further arrangements may be made respecting them.

“ I have endeavoured to ascertain, as correctly as I can, the primitive source of the Sultan’s inhumanity, which is clearly to be attributed to the unbounded indulgence he has always bestowed on the vices of his son. He appears to have tolerated him in the pursuit of every evil, and

protected him in the accomplishment of every object to which his unruly passions or violent inclinations hurried him forward, and to have been but an instrument for the protection of his son's wickedness. He has discovered too late, by his own overthrow, the melancholy consequences that ought always to attend so unprincipled a departure from every sacred law and moral obligation."

On the 29th May, Colonel Gillespie made his final report of the ulterior measures adopted by him, in placing Sultan Rattoo Ahmed Nujm-ood-deen on the throne in the room of his brother, Mahmud Badruddin, who had been deposed:—

"The British troops were paraded from the wharf to the hall of state, and surrounded at a distance the throne of the Sultan. The flag of the kingdom was saluted with twenty-one guns, and no mark of public attention was omitted that could possibly testify my confidence and respect. The Sultan himself was much affected during the progress of the ceremony, and he was attended by an immense concourse of people, who appeared sincerely to rejoice at his unexpected good fortune. When he was seated upon the throne, the British officers passed in succession to pay him their respects, and they were followed by numbers of his subjects, who vied with each other in testifying their attachment and fidelity.

"I shall have the honour to forward to you all the public documents that were either proclaimed or ratified upon this important occasion. You will see by the stipu-



lations of the treaty, how completely they have been dictated with a view to our interests, and you will perceive that the cession of Banca and Billiton is unlimited and complete.

“ Although the Sultan was considerably disappointed at the failure of his wishes respecting the British force, I had the satisfaction to leave him in the most confident assurance of his safety and strength. He expressed the most lively and grateful sense of all the benefits that had been conferred upon him by the British government, promised faithfully to use every exertion for the recovery of the Sultan’s treasures, and assured me the half of them should instantly be forwarded to Batavia according to a stipulation in the treaty between himself and the East India Company.

“ In establishing the British authority at Minto (previously called Minta by the natives), I declared the island of Banca to be named after his Royal Highness the Duke of York; the capital town after the Right Hon. the Governor-General of all India; and the fort now building there after his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

“ Yours, &c.

“ ROBERT ROLLO GILLESPIE.”

The general orders express the feeling entertained by Mr. Raffles of Colonel Gillespie’s service in this affair.

*Samarang, June 6th, 1812.*

“ The Lieutenant-Governor is happy to congratulate

Colonel Gillespie on his return to Java, and on the full accomplishment of the objects of the late expedition.

“ The successful termination of these operations, in a manner so highly beneficial to the interests of humanity, and to the security and advantage of the British possessions in those seas, must be entirely attributed to the prompt, judicious, and politic measures adopted under the personal direction of the Commander of the Forces. And although the applause so justly due on this occasion may rather fall within the province of a higher authority, to whom the proceedings will be submitted, it is gratifying to the Lieutenant-Governor that he is not precluded from bearing public testimony to the services which have been rendered, nor of expressing his admiration of the superior talent and character which have been so conspicuous throughout.

“ The Lieutenant-Governor requests Colonel Gillespie will accept his best thanks for the zeal, ability, and precision with which the service has been executed: and in recording his entire approbation and unreserved confirmation of the whole of the arrangements made for the future security and advantage of the British interests, the Lieutenant-Governor is satisfied that he only anticipates the sentiments of the Supreme Governor.

“ By order of the Lieutenant-Governor,

(Signed) “ J. ECKFORD,

“ Acting Secretary.”

The following is an extract from Captain Travers' Journal at the time :—

“ The native courts of Djocjocarta and Souracarta became troublesome soon after the establishment of the British power in Java, and Mr. Raffles determined on visiting them for the purpose of satisfying himself as to the merits of the complaints then made, and to inquire into the abuses which were known to exist. The distance was considerable, but his own personal convenience he never considered. The rapidity with which he travelled exceeded anything ever known on the island before. The average rate was more than twelve miles per hour. Unfortunately he was but badly recompensed for the exertion, as the arrangements he then made, and the tranquillity he established, were but of short duration, as a reference to the records of government will show. Immediately after his return from the native courts he planned an expedition against Palembang, to punish the Sultan for a most barbarous act of treachery and cruelty in murdering all the Dutch residents there, the moment that intelligence reached them of the capture of Java by the English.

“ After the expedition to Palembang had sailed, Mr. Raffles's attention was again directed to the courts of Djocjocarta and Souracarta, where disturbances were recommencing, particularly at the former place, and he, in consequence, determined on proceeding to Samarang, when he took his family with him. On his arrival at

Samarang he obtained such information as led him to suppose that it would be difficult to bring the Sultan of Djocjocarta to pacific terms. He accordingly deemed it prudent to collect such a force in the neighbourhood as would enable him to dictate such terms as he deemed advisable for the safety of the island.

“ At the time these operations were carrying on, Mr. Raffles was availing himself of every opportunity of gaining local knowledge. The native chiefs were constant guests at his table, and there was not a moment of his time which he did not contrive to devote to some useful purpose. The only recreation he ever indulged in, and that was absolutely necessary for the preservation of his health, was an evening drive, and occasionally a ride in the morning. He was not, however, at this time an early riser, owing to his often writing till a very late hour at night. He was moderate at table, but so full of life and spirits, that on public occasions he would often sit much longer than agreed with him. In general the hour for dinner was four o'clock, which enabled the party to take a drive in the evening; but on all public days, and when the party was large, dinner was at seven o'clock. At Samarang the society of course was small in comparison with Batavia, but on public occasions sixty and eighty were often assembled at the Government-house, and at balls from 150 to 180. Mr. Raffles never retired early, always remained till after supper, was affable, animated, agreeable, and attentive to all, and never seemed fatigued,

although perhaps at his desk all the morning, and on the following day would be at business at ten o'clock. In conducting the detail of government, and giving his orders to those immediately connected with his own office, his manner was most pleasing, mild, yet firm; he quickly formed his decision, and gave his orders with a clearness and perspicuity which was most satisfactory to every one connected with him; he was ever courteous and kind, easy of access at all times, exacting but little from his staff, who were most devotedly attached to him. The generosity of his disposition, and the liberality of his sentiments, were most conspicuous and universally acknowledged.

“ As a public servant, no man could apply himself with more zeal and attention to the arduous duties of his office. He never allowed himself the least relaxation, and was ever alert in the discharge of the important trust committed to him; and it is astonishing how long his health continued good under such great exertions both of mind and body.

“ Whilst remaining at Samarang, a fleet arrived at Batavia from England, bound to China, and at the same time a vessel was reported ready to sail from thence to Batavia, which determined Mr. Raffles on proceeding there without delay, to receive the despatches; on which occasion Mr. Assey, Secretary to Government, and myself, accompanied him. We embarked on board a small vessel, the *Hamston*, and had a very quick passage of

only seventy-two hours; during which time he drew up the Report on the capture of Djocjocarta, entering into a full and clear account of the circumstances which rendered this measure absolutely necessary for the preservation of peace on the island. We landed at seven o'clock in the evening, when a grand public ball was given at Weltervreden, to celebrate the anniversary of the Prince Regent's birth-day. At this entertainment Mr. Raffles, to the astonishment of all present, attended, as it was supposed he was at Samarang. He was the life and spirit of the entertainment. Not less than three hundred persons were assembled; and, indeed, on all similar occasions, which were always duly celebrated under Mr. Raffles's government, he contributed greatly to promote and encourage the gaiety and amusement of the party. After remaining a short time, he returned overland to Samarang, where he was most actively employed in completing the arrangement attendant on the capture of Djocjocarta, which of course brought an accession of territory to the Government, and which called for local knowledge and personal observation, to render profitable and advantageous. After obtaining all the information within his reach, Mr. Raffles and his family returned to Buitenzorg, at the close of 1812, where, of course, some arrears of public business awaited his arrival, and to which he devoted the most zealous assiduity."

The Sultan of Djocjocarta, who was the most violent and intriguing of the native princes in Java, entertained

a rooted animosity against all the Europeans settled in the island. Under the former government he had evinced a degree of hostility which compelled Marshal Daendels to direct an army against him, and to proceed in person to his capital. The plans of the Sultan not being then sufficiently matured on the one hand, and Daendels fearing the arrival of the British expedition on the other, a compromise was entered into between them, by which the Sultan agreed to pay the sum of 200,000 Spanish dollars to the Marshal. The Sultan the more readily acceded to this, as he cherished the idea of being soon enabled to carry into full effect his vengeful purposes.

The turbulent spirit of this chief had shown itself again, after the establishment of the British in the island: in consequence of which, Mr. Raffles thought it necessary to proceed in person to the Sultan's court, in the month of December, 1811, with the intention of fixing definitively the relation between the two governments by a treaty, which it was hoped would prove as binding on the one side, as he felt it would be strictly observed on the other. But the event soon proved the fallacy of such an expectation.

Mr. Raffles set out for Djocjocarta, accompanied by a part only of the 14th Regiment, a troop of the 22nd Light Dragoons, and the ordinary garrison of Bengal Sepoys in the fort, and at the Residency-house. This was all the force which, at the moment, he could command, and circumstances did not admit of delay. The service was one

of imminent peril; the whole retinue were at one time in danger of being murdered. Mr. Raffles received the Sultan in the hall of audience. The Sultan was accompanied by several thousands of armed followers, who expressed in their behaviour an infuriated spirit of insolence; and several of his own suite actually unsheathed their creesses, to indicate plainly that they only waited for the signal to perpetrate the work of destruction: had this been given, from the manner in which the English were surrounded, not a man could have escaped. Though at this time no act of treacherous hostility took place, the crafty and sanguinary Sultan drew from the circumstances which he observed, a confidence in his own strength; and being thus persuaded that the expulsion of the Europeans from the Island of Java was become more feasible, he resolved at once to adopt means for accomplishing this favourite object of his ambition.

Mr. Raffles, however, concluded a treaty with him, on terms which were considered, at the time, equally advantageous to the British interests, and beneficial to the prosperity of the country, which remained under the administration of the Sultan. In this treaty, the sovereignty of the British over the island of Java was acknowledged by the Sultan, who confirmed to the English East India Company all the privileges, advantages, and prerogatives which had been possessed by the Dutch and French governments. To the Company also were transferred the sole regulation of the duties and the collection of tribute



within the dominions of the Sultan, as well as the general administration of justice, in cases where the British interests were concerned.

The Sultan on this occasion expressed his contrition for the atrocities which had been committed under his authority, and made professions of friendship, pledging himself in every way to fulfil the conditions of the treaty.

But he only waited for a favourable opportunity to attempt the entire expulsion of the European power; and Mr. Raffles was obliged to proceed against him with an expedition, which ended in obtaining possession of the Sultan, as well as that of the hereditary Prince, without plunder or harsh usage, and the country then fell under the disposal of the English.

Mr. Raffles concludes his account to Lord Minto thus :—

“ The hereditary Prince has been raised to the throne; all the principal chieftains have submitted to his authority, and the country has every appearance of tranquillity. I passed from Djocjocarta to this place in thirteen hours (about a hundred miles), and accounts from every quarter confirm my expectations that the arrangements I had made would prevent the possibility of commotion.

“ The European power is for the first time paramount in Java. We are now able to dictate the terms of the future connexion with the British government and the native administration.

\* \* \* \* \*

“The Craton having fallen by assault, it was impossible to make any provision for Government to cover the expenses of the undertaking, consequently the whole plunder became prize to the army; it is considerable, but it could not be in better hands; they richly deserve what they got. I cannot speak too highly of the conduct of the army.”

It will be seen by the following extracts, that Mr. Raffles had the satisfaction to receive from Lord Minto the most unqualified approbation of all his measures.

“*Calcutta, 15th Dec., 1812.*”

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I shall be impatient for the materials which are called for, because I am anxious to deliver, without reserve or qualification, the very high and favourable view I now have of that whole series of measures, beginning with the expedition to Palembang, and ending with the arrangement of the two courts of Solo and Djocjocarta, connected and combined with each other as those measures were. I consider the result of the latter proceeding as very glorious to your administration, during the short period of which more will have been accomplished for the security of the European power, the tranquillity of the island, and the solid improvement of general prosperity and happiness, than several centuries have been able to perform, when the superiority of European power was exerted, unencumbered by the scruples of justice and good faith.

“ Nothing can be more excellent than all your arrangements in the eastern districts of Java.

“ With regard to Palembang and Banca, your latest reports have enabled us to approve, without reservation, the arrangement formed at Palembang, and the annexation of Banca to the territories of the East India Company, our minds being satisfied upon the two points of justice and expediency. The sovereignty of the Sultan of Palembang in Banca is placed beyond question, and leaves that dependence of Palembang indisputably subject, both to the laws of conquest in so just a war, and to the effect of cession from the authority under which it is now held.

“ Believe me ever, my dear Sir, most truly and affectionately yours,

“ MINTO.”

This private letter is so far of importance as it shows, in the most unreserved manner, Lord Minto's anxious desire to record his opinion publicly before he quitted India—the delay in acquiring and transmitting the necessary materials unfortunately preventing his doing so, and to this unavoidable omission may be attributed much of the trouble and difficulty in which Mr. Raffles was afterwards involved.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Difference of opinion between Colonel Gillespie and Mr. Raffles—Re-establishment of Society of Arts—Importance of connexion between Java and China to the East India Company's interests—Consequence of a King's government upon their monopoly—Lord Minto's anxiety to provide for Mr. Raffles, in the prospect of the Island being transferred to the crown—Lord Minto's approval of the measures of government—Calling in depreciated paper—Promise of an official approbation—Account of the Colonies—Depreciated state of paper currency—Want of specie—Land rental—Revenues of government—Proposed literary work—Lord Minto's return to England—His last letter on leaving Calcutta—Expedition to Sambas.*

IN consequence of the desire of the Commander of the Forces to retain a much larger military establishment in the island than Mr. Raffles conceived to be necessary, or than was in accordance with the directions and injunctions of the Supreme Government, much painful discussion took place; Mr. Raffles being very desirous not to bear too heavy on the finances of the colony.

Mr. Raffles having already directed his attention, even during the performance of his most arduous political duties, to subjects more congenial to his taste, wrote at this date thus :

“ *January, 1813.*

“ I forwarded by the Java several reports from Dr.

Horsfield on the natural history of the Eastern Islands ; duplicates of these, with specimens of plants, and a collection of quadrupeds, birds, &c., are transmitted by the Juliana, and I trust will be found acceptable, and worthy of a place in the Oriental Museum. The Literary Society of Batavia, which has been so long dormant, has been again revived, its constitution has undergone an entire change, and a spirit of inquiry and research is obvious among its members, An additional volume of the Batavian Researches is now completing, and I trust it will not be long before the Society gives to the world a proof of the advantages it derives under the mild and protecting principles of the British government.

“ Statistical accounts are nearly completed of the whole of the island, and the proceedings of the commission of which Colonel Mackenzie is the President being about to close, I look forward to an early opportunity of communicating on every thing which concerns the happiness and prosperity of this colony, and of forwarding a detailed and accurate account of its resources, advantages, and capabilities, under any and whatever authority or system of government it may be eventually placed.”

It was about this time that Mr. Raffles re-established the Society of Arts and Sciences in Batavia, to which he alludes in the preceding letter. This institution had entirely declined in consequence of the difficulties to which the island of Java had been exposed for many years. He hoped by this means to promote literary and

scientific pursuits; and it afforded him a source of great pleasure and satisfaction to be the instrument of giving new life to the first institution of the kind, which had ever been established by Europeans in the East. This society continued to meet regularly under his watchful care and superintendence, until the island was restored to the Dutch. The addresses which he delivered on the first meeting of the society, and at a subsequent one in 1815, tended to excite a warm interest in all the members, while they showed that the performance of the arduous duties of a public station are not incompatible, and may be combined with, an active pursuit of literary and scientific objects.

The Discourse concludes thus\* :

“The Japanese are a people with whom the European world might hold intercourse without compromise of character; for the Japanese themselves are wonderfully inquisitive in all points of science, and possess a mind curious and anxious to receive information, without inquiring from what quarter it comes.

“Let us hope that now, when

‘That spell upon the minds of men  
Breaks, never to unite again’—

no withering policy may blast the fair fruits of that spirit of research which has gone forth from this Hall; nor continue, under any circumstances, to shut out one-half of the world from the intelligence which the other half may possess.”

\* This Discourse will be found at the end of Vol. II.

While thus occupied in the encouragement of every object calculated to promote the good of the people whom he governed, and to enlarge our knowledge of their institutions, habits, and character, not only Mr. Raffles but his superiors also in Bengal remained entirely ignorant of the intentions of the Government at home, or of the East India Company, as to the future condition of the island. Years had elapsed, and still nothing was decided on its fate. One of the chief difficulties with which Mr. Raffles had to contend, and which indeed affected every measure, arose from this uncertainty. He had to administer the government of the island without knowing whether it was to belong to the King or to the Company, which led to embarrassment, and created differences of opinion, as the wishes and interests of individuals were likely to be affected by the decision. Mr. Raffles wrote to Mr. Ramsay, Secretary of the East India Company, on this subject.

TO W. RAMSAY, ESQ., FROM MR. RAFFLES.

*“Batavia, Jan. 8, 1813.*

“There is perhaps no point of view in which the possession of Java deserves to be more seriously considered, than in its connexion with China, and its influence on the Company’s interests and prospects there. It is of the first importance to them, that in any arrangements which may be made for the future government of this colony, or for throwing the trade of India open to individuals,

the nature of this connexion, and the extent of this influence should be fully known, in order that the Company's interests at Canton, and their exclusive trade to China may not be interfered with.

\* \* \* \* \*

“The state of the Company's finances in China has already induced the supercargoes to open a communication on the subject. They represent the deficiency of their funds, and ask for consignments from hence.

\* \* \* \* \*

“Another point of moment is the extent to which printed-cottons may be introduced into Java from England. I am most sanguine in my expectations of success, provided strict attention is paid to the patterns and sizes, as well as to the other suggestions which accompany the musters; the consignments, however, should, in the first instance, be considered rather as an experiment; and, afterwards, if the cloths are once generally and advantageously introduced, there will be no difficulty in increasing the quantity to an unlimited extent. The extent to which other staples and manufactures may be imported with advantage, I have stated in a Report\*.”

\* \* \* \* \*

On the prospect of the island of Java being transferred to the crown, and the probability of a King's officer being appointed to the government, Lord Minto displayed a

\* The inhabitants of Java are now, 1829, principally supplied with the cotton and woollen manufactures of England.



generous concern to promote and secure the interests of his friend, to whom he wrote as follows :—

“ *February 22nd, 1813.*

\* \* \* \* \*

“ I have already written to you concerning the operations of this event (the arrival of General Maitland) upon your situation ; and I need not repeat my former communication on a subject which is, however, deeply and sensibly interesting to my wishes and feelings.

“ But I have to acquaint you with an honourable retreat, if your present office should pass into other hands. Mr. Parker has been compelled by ill health to quit Bencoolen. If any obstacle should arise to the views which I suppose you might entertain on Java, in the event of a change of government, or if you should prefer the Residency of Fort Marlborough to any other situation that might be open for you in the East, my resolution is to appoint you to succeed Mr. Parker. It must not be forgotten, at the same time, that the orders of the Court of Directors are to place a civil servant of the Bengal establishment in that office. That circumstance will not prevent me from appointing you, because I flatter myself the claims which made so strong an impression on me will be admitted by others ; and I am unwilling to doubt the Court’s confirmation of the measure, and the many weighty and forcible considerations which certainly recommend it.

“ If there should be any hesitation on the subject, I

should feel some reliance on the early exertion I shall have an opportunity of making, in person, at home, my departure from hence being fixed for next January.

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*

“ My opinion now is, that in military questions affecting especially the economy of your government, you should adopt and carry into effect firmly, the measures which, after every proper reference to the Commander of the Forces, and with every due deference to his sentiments, you ultimately judge to be either expedient in themselves, or conformable to our instructions. To give way on the spot, and refer to us to reverse the measures, which have been conceded merely in a spirit of conciliation, is a very slow and dilatory process, considering the distance and length of time required for communication between Java and Bengal. It might, perhaps, be admissible, if the instances were rare; but opposition on such points being not only frequent but uniform, an exercise of the power vested in you on the spot becomes indispensable.

“ Pray let me know your wishes on the subject of your appointment to Bencoolen as soon as possible. But I shall take care to make the office accessible to you by an actual appointment, subject to your own option, as soon as I know with certainty that the present government of Java is to be changed. You have had, and will still have many competitors here, and some of the very *highest* rank, merit, and pretensions in India; but so far as the

power of this government can avail, you may consider the affair as decided.”

FROM LORD MINTO TO MR. RAFFLES.

*Calcutta, May 10th, 1813.*

“ Although nothing is certain, I should think, on the whole, that Lord Moira will arrive in Bengal in July, or say by the 1st of August.

“ This expectation occasions a great embarrassment and anxiety about you; for the final decision concerning Java may not be known in the country during my government, and there will consequently be a difficulty in appointing you to Bencoolen, if that should be the case: for I presume you would not wish to renounce Java definitively until the necessity of doing so should be positively ascertained. What I can do at present is to keep Bencoolen open. If I should learn, while I am in office, that you are certainly to be relieved at an early period, I shall make your appointment to Fort Marlbrø’, and send it to you at Batavia, that you may go at once from Java to your own station.

“ All that can be said is, that I shall be watchful for your interest, and shall omit nothing that depends on me to accomplish what I think due to your merits and services, as well as to evince the esteem and affection which I have sincere pleasure in professing towards you.”

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LORD MINTO TO MR. RAFFLES.

*June 22nd, 1813.*

“ I cannot safely wait longer for authentic accounts of

the resolution taken in England concerning Java ; and I have, therefore, adopted the measure of at once appointing you formally to Fort Marlbro' ; to take effect on your being relieved from your present office, or resigning it ; the allowances to commence from the time of your departure from Java.

“ The letter which I have just addressed to you as President of the Literary Society of Batavia, leaves little for me to add to the very gratifying proof of their kind recollection and regard furnished by the address which you enclosed to me, and I shall only say, in the sincerity of private correspondence, that I have derived from it very particular satisfaction. I hope you will ply your labours—the field is extensive, and to a great portion even of the learned world new—diligence has not been wanting, and ability has been abundant in your era—for which, certainly, much is due to you, as you are truly told. I am very grateful for the great stone from the interior of your island ; in weight, at least, it seems to rival the base of Peter the Great's statue at St. Petersburg.

“ I shall be very much tempted to mount this Java rock on our Minto craigs, that it may tell eastern tales of us long after our heads lie under smoother stones.

“ Your Twelve Cæsars\* are placed on handsome pedestals in the marble hall at Calcutta, and you would be pleased to see how well they suit that fine room, and

\* Busts formerly in the Government Hall of the Dutch Governor-General at Batavia, and sent by Mr. Raffles to Lord Minto.

how ornamental they are to it. An inscription on the pedestal of Julius Cæsar is to make him tell his own history and that of his successors, and how they all came there. He will (prophetically it must be) introduce your name into this chapter of his Commentaries.

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*

“ I learnt with great pleasure that you have determined to accept the Residency of Fort Marlbro’. When I first made this proposition I was not aware that I might soon lose the power of making the appointment. I have since felt considerable uneasiness lest I should be overtaken by an event which cannot be distant, and disabled from accomplishing an object which I have so much at heart. I wrote you by the Hussar under that apprehension, and before I had entirely determined the course I should pursue.

FROM LORD MINTO TO MR. RAFFLES.

“ *Calcutta, June 24th, 1813.*

“ We have received the documents you have furnished in support of the measures adopted by you, respecting the courts of Solo and Djocjocarta—we wish, of course, from the great importance of the subject, not only to give it a full consideration, but to accompany the judgment we are to pass upon it with a satisfactory explanation of the grounds on which the opinion is formed. This requires a little, and but a little more time than, oppressed as we now are by the winding up of an administration of seven years, and by the despatch of ships to England, it has

been possible for us to afford—you need not, however, feel any uneasiness on account of this short delay: I have myself read all the papers with the greatest attention, and have perused a second time all that your correspondence and the proceedings of your government furnish on this subject; I am happy to say that I am myself entirely satisfied; and although the members of Council have not yet read all the papers, the conversations which I have held with them on the subject leave me no doubt that we shall concur in the result.

“ Our judgment on this and several other capital points of your administration, which are not included in the official despatches by the *Nearchus*, will be forwarded in a week or two after the departure of that ship. Amongst these are the operation of calling in the depreciated paper which hung so heavily on your finances, an operation which is highly applauded; and the sale of lands which enabled you to execute the former measure, which is also approved.

TO WILLIAM BROWN RAMSAY, ESQ.

“ *Buitenzorg, June, 1813.*

“ We are still here, without any change, or even rumours of a change, which, after the uncertain period which has passed, may be considered as a very great immediate gratification to us; but I am not so untutored in the ways of the world, or so confident in the propriety of the measures of our government at home, as to calculate with any certainty on the result. I am prepared and

ready to meet a change whenever it may occur. At Ben-coolen I am promised the chief authority, if removed hence; at Penang, my standing in the service would insure me a seat in the council, but I confess that I should say farewell to Java with a heavy heart.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ I do not know whether I am to attribute your silence to an *habitual* laziness in every thing which concerns business, or to a carelessness about me and mine; the latter I must doubt, and I would hope that you will not allow the former to supersede what, as a friend, I have a right to think my due.

“ It is most likely you think much less about us than we think about you, and perhaps it is natural that it should be so: I will only say, that if you forget me, I will *not* forget you.

“ Adieu, and believe me ever yours,

“ With sincerity and truth,

“ T. S. R.”

TO W. B. RAMSAY, ESQ.

*Java, September 15th, 1813.*

“ Every thing is going on prosperously here; and, as I have often told you before, if the authorities at home leave us alone, every thing must continue to go on prosperously. You will hear of some war here; but I think you know enough of my disposition to believe that I prefer peace and harmony to war and anarchy; and that I would rather have kept my little army (about 12,000)

in comfortable quarters. My measures have been throughout successful.

“ I shall come home, not laden with riches and spoils, but, I trust, with some little honour and credit.”

The time was now arrived when Lord Minto was to take his departure from Calcutta, on which occasion he wrote to Mr. Raffles the following letter, expressive of the friendship he felt, and the warm interest he continued to take in his welfare :—

*Calcutta, November, 1813.*

“ In taking leave of my public relation with you, as I must in this letter, I am at a loss how to proceed. On the one hand, there are so many points, or rather extensive subjects, on which a free communication of my sentiments is due to you, that every hour which remains of my residence in India would be too few to acquit myself of that debt, in a manner entirely satisfactory to myself or you. On the other hand, the last, or I may say more properly, the posthumous duties of my station in India, added to the preparations for my departure, and the very interesting offices of society and friendship which belong to the occasion, leave only moments, when days would be wanted, for the demands still outstanding against me. You will, therefore, not impute to me want of interest in the matter I have now before me, if I aim at conciseness and brevity in a greater degree than I am accustomed to do. My official authority, and, therefore, my personal



interposition in public business, was to end somewhere; and the arrears which the excess of labour required in this government beyond the powers of human diligence, must unavoidably cause, at the close of my Indian administration, have carried my *demise* a little higher than the nominal termination of my office, in such a manner as to leave the formal decision of several affairs which arose in my own period, to the authority which succeeds me.

“ You will accept, therefore, what I am now able to offer, as only the friendly suggestions of the deep and lively interests I can never cease to take in all that concerns your public trust, and your personal reputation and welfare. In this I may be less careful than I might otherwise be, to separate my public from my private sentiments in this letter.

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*

“ On the financial operation of withdrawing the depreciated paper from circulation by a considerable sale of lands, the resolutions of this government must be conveyed to you by my successor; but I am unwilling to withhold from you my individual sentiments on a measure of so much importance.

“ I begin, therefore, by assenting without reservation to the absolute and exigent necessity which was the motive, and is the justification, of the proceeding. The revenues and all the demands of government were paid in paper which could not be re-issued; there was, therefore, a virtual suspension of receipt at the public treasury. To

avoid this total loss, the paper must have been issued again, at the discount of the day, which would have discredited the currency still more, and would have involved an enormous and constantly-recurring loss. This state of things left you no option but to withdraw the paper, to make room for some better medium of circulation, and the operation of the evil was too rapid to admit of delay.

“ The only plan for the redemption of the paper which could be found, appears very clearly to have been precisely that to which you had recourse—the sale of public property; and it must be deemed fortunate that this resource existed, and proved to be immediately available.

“ I consider, therefore, your measure to have been an *able expedient* in a case of *great emergency*.

“ At the same time I conceive the *necessity* of a prompt remedy to form the essential, and, indeed, the indispensable ground of the resolution that was taken, for I should not, I confess, have thought an extensive alienation of the public domains advisable in itself, under the particular circumstances of the colony at the time. First, it was too important a measure to be adopted during a provisional government, the duration of which is more than precarious. Secondly, it ought (and naturally would, without the pressure of immediate necessity) to have received the previous sanction of the supreme government. Thirdly, although my views, as you know, lead to the transfer of public territory to the management of individual industry, and the creation of a genuine landed interest, with all its

immediate benefits and ameliorating tendencies, in the room of the deplorable system of vassalage and dependence under which land is now held in Java; yet I have felt that this change could not be brought about suddenly, partly from the very nature of all extensive changes, partly from the circumstances of the colony, which contains at present neither capital nor capitalists enough to afford a comparison between the value in the market, of land and money, either fair or at all approaching to fair. I should have inclined, therefore, to small and partial sales of land, if alienation in perpetuity should have been thought advisable at all, proportioned in some degree to the disposable quantity of money in the hands of individuals. But the general course to be recommended I conceive to be short leases, followed by longer, and ultimately by perpetuities. I touch upon these points the more willingly, for the purpose of conveying to you a caution on the subject, founded on our knowledge of the sentiments which appear to be the most prevalent at home, but which you may not be apprized of.

“ There is a great division of opinion on the question of permanent settlements, and the extension of that system to the newly-acquired provinces under the Presidency of Bengal, which has in a great degree been carried into effect during my administration.

“ The introduction of that system has been gradual in those provinces, but yet more sudden than is approved at home. But Java is in a state infinitely less favourable to

perpetual alienations, and you may depend upon such measures, unsupported by particular exigency, being disapproved, and, indeed, disavowed and annulled by the authorities in England.

“ There are many other points of public business, indeed much too many, in which I am in your debt ; but, as I have already said, I must break my staff somewhere.

“ I have had an early communication with Lord Moira\* concerning your appointment to Bencoolen ; and I have the happiness to say, that he acquiesced entirely in the arrangement that was made, and specifically in the propriety of your continuing to administer the government of Java, until the future destiny of that island should be fixed by the government at home.

“ I ought not to conclude without congratulating you on the success of the Sambas expedition. \* \* \*

“ Your measures at Palembang, you will have seen, have had our entire concurrence. \* \* \*

“ My picture was far advanced before I received your intimation that the smaller picture formerly sent would be accepted as an anticipation of the request contained in the address. I think you will be glad of this, as the full-length, as large as life, which is now ready, is one of the best works I ever saw, and every way worthy of the respectable body at whose command it has been executed.

“ I propose, when that picture arrives at Batavia, to

\* His Lordship had just arrived in Calcutta as successor to Earl Minto.

request that you will accept and keep the latter for my sake.

“ I must close here, but not take leave, for I hope for one more opportunity.

“ Believe me,

Ever most faithfully and affectionately yours,

“ MINTO.”

The sale of lands alluded to in the foregoing letter, it will be seen, was highly approved by Lord Minto as an *able expedient* in a case of *great emergency*; and of his ability to judge from local knowledge, as well as general experience, no one will doubt. It was, in fact, the only expedient that could be devised to support the credit of the new government, at a time when it was most important to create a favourable impression upon the population, on the change of their rulers. Yet it was strongly condemned by the Court of Directors; perhaps because they did not possess either the local knowledge or the experience which were necessary to form a right judgment.

The sale of lands was no new measure; it had been resorted to at different periods under the Dutch government, and more especially in the administration of Marshal Daendels, when not only large estates, but whole districts, had been thus disposed of. The English government succeeded in a moment of the greatest public distress, when the Dutch had been unable to pay even their lowest establishments, when the funds of the public chari-

ties had been appropriated to the necessities of the state, and the finances of the colony were bankrupt. The English government succeeded also to the existing colonial laws and usages, by which they were borne out in the right of alienating such lands as might be found necessary for the support of the state, and as a partial sale of lands had been estimated among the available resources for the expenses of the current year, and had passed without comment by the supreme government, a tacit consent might be implied that the measure in itself was justifiable.

The expedition to Sambas, also alluded to in the foregoing letter, originated in a report brought by a trading vessel of the loss of the ship *Coromandel*, and the increasing depredations of the piratical Chief of Sambas. This report was sent to Captain Bowen, then senior officer of his Majesty's navy on the station, with a request that he would direct his attention to that quarter. Captain Bowen in consequence expressed his intention of proceeding to Sambas, and requested a hundred men to act as marines, his ships being short of their complement. General Gillespie ordered the men to be supplied; but the expedition was purely a naval one, and the supply of these men the only concern the Java government had in it.

## CHAPTER VII.

*General Nightingall appointed to relieve General Gillespie—General Gillespie brings charges against Mr. Raffles—Decision of the Court of Directors on them—Ancient characters on stones from the temples—Establishment of the improved system of government—Principles on which it was founded—Institutions of Majapahit, his division of society into classes—Mr. Raffles' reasons for introducing the change in the tenure of the land—His anxiety and fatigue during its progress—Support of General Nightingall—Eventual fate of Java—Hesitation of supreme government to give any rule for the guidance of the government—Forced to act in every measure of importance, in consequence, on his own responsibility—Suppression of piracy—Slave-trade declared to be felony, by a Colonial Law—Can only be repealed by the mother country—Leading inhabitants concur, and registered their slaves—Mission to Japan—Opening of trade with it—Disapproved by the Bengal government—Approved by the Court of Directors.*

THE difference of opinion before alluded to with General Gillespie involved Mr. Raffles in great trouble, and augmented the cares and anxieties connected with the administration of his extensive government. Owing to some misapprehension, and to other causes, which it is needless now to enumerate, two months after the departure of Lord Minto, General Gillespie conceived it his duty to represent to the Governor-General in council at Calcutta, that certain parts of Mr. Raffles' administration were neither so purely nor so wisely conducted as the public

service required. Of course, the Bengal government required specific charges to be framed, which, when received, were forwarded to Mr. Raffles for his replies.

The charges embraced such a variety of topics, indeed almost the whole extent of his government, that, had Mr. Raffles not been perfectly master of his subject, or had he been less correct in every branch of his duties, the severity of this scrutiny would have been fatal to his public character, even had it not touched what every upright man is still more punctilious in protecting from the breath of slander—his own private fair fame. But the result in Mr. Raffles' case was highly beneficial: for the inquiry rendered it imperative upon him to enter into many discussions, which delicacy would otherwise have prevented his making public; and, in fact, compelled him to lay bare the whole system of his administration, with a minuteness which, under any other circumstances, would hardly have been allowable, but which in his case, under these circumstances, was an absolute duty.

In those distant regions, where the means of communication with Europe are few and uncertain, and where, even on the spot, the intervals which elapse between the dispatch of letters and the receipt of answers are often of great duration, it requires a long period before such misunderstandings are cleared up. Nevertheless, the clouds which at first threatened to obscure Mr. Raffles' hard-earned renown gradually cleared off; and, one by one, his enemies, if, indeed, he ever really had enemies, gra-



dually admitted, not only the purity of all his motives and conduct, but perceived and acknowledged the sagacity of his public measures. So irresistible, indeed, was the force of truth, as exemplified on this occasion, and so universal its effect in Mr. Raffles' favour, that there seems no reason to doubt, had General Gillespie not fallen into an honourable and early grave, he, as well as others, would have borne a willing testimony to the unsullied reputation of his former colleague ; when, upon the minutest acts, as well as the most extensive measures of his administration, being exposed to public investigation, all of them were able to bear the scrutiny.

The following letter will show that, in the midst of the storm of public affairs, Mr. Raffles retained all the kindest affections of private life. It is addressed to the son of his early friend and protector, the late Mr. Ramsay :—

TO W. B. RAMSAY, ESQ.

*“ Buitenzorg, March 21st, 1814.*

“ While you are quietly gliding on in the smooth and sunny stream of private life, it is my lot to be tossed on boisterous billows, and to be annoyed with all the clouds and evils which ensue from party spirit.

“ Without family pretensions, fortune, or powerful friends, it has been my lot to obtain the high station which I now fill ; and I have not been without my due proportion of envy in consequence.

“ After this, you will not be surprised at what follows.

You are aware of the differences which occurred between me and Major-General Gillespie, and that he, in consequence, applied to be relieved from the military command. Arriving in Bengal after Lord Minto had left it, he found the new Governor-General unacquainted with all that had previously passed, and succeeded, to a certain extent, in impressing him favourably in his behalf. He was committed, in the course of some of our differences, by assertions which he had made; and finding that he had succeeded in directing the current of public opinion a good deal against me, he has brought regular charges against both my administration and character. The whole are, I thank God, easily to be repelled; and the closer the investigation, the purer my conduct will appear. Lord Minto is fully aware of the violent faction which has taken up arms against me, and will defend me in England. In India I have possession, and a clear character to maintain it; let Satan do his worst. \* \* \*

For myself I will declare, that so far from time and distance having quenched a single spark of the friendship I once bore you, I am at this moment more animated with affection towards you than ever. I think of you, and feel for you, as I would for a brother; and the anticipation of once more meeting with you, brightens the prospect of my returning to my native country.

“ My enemies have said much, and written much; but, in the end, truth and honesty must prevail.

“ T. S. R.”

The charges reached Java at a period when Mr. Raffles was engaged in drawing out his plans for the change of system which he was about to introduce into the country. Nothing can more strongly mark the facility and the despatch with which he replied to them all on the moment, than the circumstance of his having at the time his house filled with company, and that he never absented himself from the hours of social intercourse, or neglected his usual and regular routine of business. The minute which he drew up and recorded on this occasion, and which, when printed, filled a quarto volume of moderate thickness, is a lasting monument of the powers of his mind.

It would be foreign to the object of this work, and to the principle stated in the preface, to enter into a minute detail of these proceedings; but the Reader cannot be otherwise than interested by the perusal of the following extract from a letter of Mr. Raffles, referring to the period of General Gillespie's departure from Java, when the differences which had occurred between them had seemingly ceased to exist, and a complete reconciliation had appeared to take place.

“The reconciliation was brought about by Captain Elliott. I had no motive for wishing to withhold my consent; the public interest would, undoubtedly, be benefited by it. My differences of opinion, and the discussions that had arisen in consequence, were before the

Supreme Government, and in no instance had I stated a personal or private accusation, or one, the nature of which was not apparent in my correspondence with the General himself. As soon, therefore, as it was understood that no reference was to be made to what had passed, and could not be altered, I hesitated not to meet the proposal.

“There could be no personal consideration in this mode of procedure, because, whatever mischief our mutual references could produce had already been produced; the references were gone, and could not be recalled. I therefore confided in the honour of the General as a man and a soldier, that nothing had passed on his part inconsistent with our becoming friends; concluding that General Gillespie would no more profess a friendship for a man, whom he had accused of base and corrupt acts, than I would have condescended to accept the hand of one whom I knew to have accused me of them.

“It is further to be observed, that General Gillespie, in frequent conversations with me, declared his regret at what had passed, and his fixed resolve to support the measures of my administration; nor was it to me alone that this was said, it was repeatedly stated to the gentlemen of my family; even his last letter contained the same, imputing to the misrepresentation of some persons about me the occasions on which we had formerly differed.

“My cause, my honour, my public reputation and private character, are now before the Supreme Government.

I ask only a patient hearing. Errors in judgment may be found in the complicated administration with which I am intrusted; measures of policy depend in a considerable degree on opinion, and there may be some difference of opinion, perhaps, with regard to those which have been adopted by this government; but the accusations against my moral character must be determined by facts, and on this ground I will challenge my accusers to produce any one act of my government, in which I have been actuated by corrupt motives, or guided by views of sinister advantage to myself.

“I have thus deliberately discussed the present charges, and endeavoured to do so without anger or violence, but, my Lord, my feelings of the injury I have sustained are not the less acute. I have been denied the means of knowing the charges until all the influence of a first and ex parte statement could be exerted, and the current of public opinion continued to flow unrestrained, until the reports obtained an unmerited credit from the very want of contradiction.”

When this business was laid before the Court of Directors, they expressed their decision in the following letter to the Bengal government: but before this period the fate of Java had been decided; its restoration to the Dutch had been agreed upon, and Java and its dependencies had ceased to be of any interest to the public authorities of Great Britain.

“ We have received your letter in this department of the 8th December, 1815, in which you draw our attention to your proceedings relative to the charges which were preferred by the late Major-General Gillespie and Mr. Blagrave against Mr. Raffles, late Lieutenant-Governor of Java, and communicated the judgment you have formed and recorded, as the result of a deliberate investigation of those charges.

“ After a scrupulous examination of all the documents, both accusatory and exculpatory, connected with this important subject, and an attentive perusal of the minutes of the Governor-General, and of the other members composing the Council, when it was under consideration, we think it due to Mr. Raffles, to the interests of our service, and to the cause of truth, explicitly to declare our decided conviction, that the charges, in as far as they went to impeach the moral character of that gentleman, have not only not been made good, but that they have been disproved, to an extent which is seldom practicable in a case of defence.

“ It is not our intention now to discuss the expediency of the leading measures of the administration of Java, while Mr. Raffles presided over the government of the island. The policy of these measures is not only separable from the motives which dictated them, but there are cogent reasons why they should be kept altogether distinct and separate on the present occasion.

“ Before pronouncing upon the financial operations of

that government, we are desirous of fuller information and further time to deliberate on their tendency and effects, as well as on the circumstances under which they were adopted.

“ Were their unreasonableness, improvidence, and inefficiency clearly established, this would only indicate error or defect of judgment, or, at most, incompetence in Mr. Raffles for the high and, in many respects, exceedingly difficult situation which he filled.

“ But the purity, as well as the propriety, of many of his acts, as Lieutenant-Governor, having been arraigned, accusations having been lodged against him, which if substantiated must have proved fatal to his character, and highly injurious, if not ruinous, to his future prospects in life, his conduct having been subjected to a regular and solemn investigation, and this investigation having demonstrated to our minds the utter groundlessness of the charges exhibited against him, in so far as they affected his honour, we think that he is entitled to all the advantage of this opinion, and of an early and public expression of it.

“ Mr. Edmonstone, in his elaborate and able minute, has taken so comprehensive and just a view of all the acts which constituted the grounds of imputation against the personal character of Mr. Raffles, that it is quite unnecessary for us to enter into a detailed scrutiny of the matters, either of charge or refutation. On most, if not all, of the points at issue, we concur with Mr. Edmonstone, both in

his reasonings and conclusions ; and whatever judgment may be ultimately passed on the various measures of the late government of Java, which underwent review in the course of the investigation into the conduct of its head, we are satisfied, not merely that they stand exempt from any sordid or selfish taint, but that they sprung from motives perfectly correct and laudable.”

Mr. Raffles wrote the following letter to Mr. Marsden about this time, on the various subjects to which his attention was then directed :—

TO MR. MARSDEN.

“ *Buitenzorg, Jan. 12, 1813.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I had the pleasure to write to you about six weeks ago, since which nothing very important has occurred in this part of the world.

“ We still remain without official information respecting the future government of this colony, although the public opinion seems decided in favour of its being transferred to the crown.

“ It will, I am sure, afford you satisfaction to know that every thing goes on prosperously ; and that the resources of the colony, during the last year, have fully equalled my most sanguine expectations. The unfortunate state of commerce in general, and the distressed condition of the island, at the period of its capture, have



been much against us: but the happiest results have followed the decisive blow which I found it necessary to strike at Mataram; and the country throughout is in the most perfect state of tranquillity.

“ Had it not been for the uncertainty which exists respecting the future government of the island, it was my intention to have effected an entire new system and settlement of the revenue. The Dutch appear to have been terribly behindhand in every arrangement of the kind; the principal resources of the government were received in kind; and the contingents or quota of the different Chiefs fixed without reference to their means or ability.

“ In the provinces lately transferred to the European government, the whole of the uncertain revenues collected by the native princes has been reduced to a fixed land-rent, payable in money half-yearly; and, if circumstances had admitted, I should have carried the same system through the country. In all changes, however, some difficulties are in the first instance to be encountered; and unless I felt satisfied that I could *fully* establish the new system before I attempted its adoption, I might, by a *partial* interference, hamper and annoy the government which is permanently to rule over the island. No exertions are wanting in collecting the most useful and extensive information; and we are already far advanced in a statistical account of each district. You are aware that we have the advantage of Colonel Mackenzie's abilities; and that a commission of the best-informed

colonists has long been deliberating on the best means for improving the country, and ameliorating the condition of the inhabitants. That we are not altogether idle will be evident, from the honourable notice which Lord Minto has been pleased to take of our proceedings; and as his Lordship's last address to the College of Fort William pays so high and grateful a tribute to the memory of my departed friend, Dr. Leyden, I enclose you the Gazette.

“ The Juliana takes home a very compact collection of quadrupeds, birds, and insects, prepared by Dr. Horsfield for the Oriental Museum at the India House. A large collection of dried plants is also sent. Any observations which you may offer on this first attempt will be very useful.

“ In my last letter, I apprised you of the general state of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, and of my exertions to revive it. You will now learn with pleasure that this society is once more in full vigour. The former regulations were by no means calculated to keep alive a spirit of inquiry or research; on the contrary, they seemed to shut the door against every thing *new, as an innovation*; and it therefore became necessary to remould the constitution. With the celebrated Rudemacher the society seems to have lived and died; at least, it has been nearly in a torpid state ever since. The lethargy with which all the members seemed to be oppressed, when I first started the subject, gave me but little hopes of success; and the jealousy, with which they were apt to look upon any inter-

ference, at first discouraged me; but a more liberal spirit has at last prevailed; and, I trust, will soon pervade the whole body. The new regulations are simple; and, I think, you will approve of them on a consideration of how much has been effected against prejudice and colonial notions, which, I am sorry to say, are miserably contracted.

“ Colonel Mackenzie has visited Majapahit, and every part of the island; and a large stone, weighing several tons, with a long inscription in ancient characters, has been brought from the ruins to Sourabaya. The characters on this stone are, I believe, somewhat different from those found at Brambana; and there is an old man at Sumanap who pretends to decypher the character. I have seen some of his translations of similar inscriptions in Madura; and they appear to record volcanoes and battles; but I must hesitate in offering an opinion, until I have time to examine the whole personally. While on the subject of ancient monuments, it will be interesting for you to know, that we have not failed to take drawings of all that have been found, at least of the principal. I have one drawing of the temple at Brambana, representing the edifice as it originally stood in its most perfect state; and it makes a most splendid appearance.

“ The undivided and unremitting attention, which the duties of my present situation require, deprives me of the time which I should be happy to devote to literary pursuits and scientific research; but I have made very con-

siderable collections; and a few leisure months, at any time, will enable me to put them in some sort of order. The field is so extensive and untrodden, that I am cautious how I venture to form an opinion, or even communicate information on any particular point.

“ I hope it will not be long before the Batavian press produces a Javanese Vocabulary, with some idea of the construction of the language. I have at present materials enough to undertake it; but I would much rather induce some abler hand to come forward.

“ You must excuse the hasty and careless style of this letter. I am obliged to snatch a moment now and then from public business to get through it as it is.

“ As a copy of the Malayan Bible, printed at Batavia, may form an addition to your library, I have the pleasure to send you one.”

Reference has been already made to the change which Mr. Raffles introduced, especially with regard to the revenue in Java; but, before entering into the details on this subject, it may be well to state his own opinions of the country and the people.

“ Six millions in Java, as many more in its dependencies, established on one of the richest and most fertile soils in the world, happy in their original institutions, were subjected to the arbitrary demands of the European authority to deliver the produce of their soil either gratis, or at such nominal rates as that authority thought fit to bestow as a boon, and to give their personal services on

all occasions of public or private call without any reward or return whatever, the demand on each district depending on accident, or the convenience of the local or commanding officer for the time being. As it affected the general prosperity of the colony, the system was one which closed every avenue to general commerce, repressed every energy, and destroyed every incitement to industry and improvement. In its results to the European power, it had reduced the Government to beggary, while it vitiated and corrupted all its officers, and all its departments.

“ Under these circumstances, it was determined to take a comprehensive view of the revenue and resources of these possessions, and of the various and important interests involved in them, and to consider whether the introduction of a system of administration more analogous to that of our more permanent possessions in India might not be both advisable and practicable. That it was most advisable there seemed to be little doubt, for the Dutch themselves had for many years declared the advantage of some such change; their deplorable condition abundantly proved its absolute necessity, and the result of every inquiry that was made proved that the interests of all concerned must be benefited by such an arrangement.

“ That the existing system was vicious and ruinous all good men were agreed, commission after commission having been appointed by the Dutch government, with a view of effecting a change: *that* authority at last came to

the resolution that it was impracticable and unsafe: impracticable, because the difficulties to be surmounted and the corruptions to be put down were too formidable to be opposed; and unsafe, because it considered that any attempt to interfere with the existing order of things amongst the natives would lead to certain disorder and bloodshed, and endanger the supremacy of the European power."

Mr. Raffles introduced what is called the village system, founded upon that of the Hindus; for though the natives had from compulsion adopted the religion of their Mahomedan conquerors, they were strongly attached to their ancient Hindu institutions. To accomplish this introduction, he visited each district, in person made arrangements with the several Chiefs, and in lieu of the contingents and arbitrary exactions of the European government, established a permanent money revenue direct from the land, which afforded the means of defraying the expenses of the public establishments with regularity and certainty, instead of leaving the government dependent on the state of a foreign market for the irregular and uncertain sale of its produce. All the ports on the coast were opened to the general trader, and cultivation and commerce rapidly improved.

In the judicial department and police, independently of the regulations for the interior of the country, which formed part of the revenue and judicial system, essential reforms were required in the several European courts of

justice established at Batavia, Samarang, and Sourabaya ; Mr. Raffles introduced the trial by jury, and a clear and simple code was compiled, containing the rules for the different courts, and instructions for their officers. These rules were printed in English and Dutch ; they show that the practice of the Dutch courts was revised and modified on the mild and just principles of the British constitution ; and the fact of its continuing in force under the Dutch government, will be sufficient proof that it was applicable to the circumstances of the settlement. It would be needless to dwell on the research, labour, and caution which such an undertaking required ; those who are acquainted with the difficulties and responsibilities of government under ordinary circumstances, will estimate the difficulties and responsibilities of these changes, in the miserable state to which Java had been reduced.

The following extract from the Journal of Captain Travers describes Mr. Raffles at this period of anxiety and trouble.

“ At the time Major-General Sir Miles Nightingall arrived to take command of the troops in Java, Mr. Raffles was busily engaged in his favourite plan, and making suitable arrangements for the introduction of an improved system of internal management, and the establishment of a land-rental on the island, a measure which has given to his administration a lustre and widely-spread fame, which never can be forgotten. The measure is so fully explained, the necessity for its adoption so

clearly pointed out in the public records of government, that I shall confine myself to the private circumstances connected with its introduction.

“ When first this measure was proposed, it met, if not with opposition, with at least such a cold and cautious approval from the members of council, some of whom spoke from long experience, and a supposed knowledge of the native character, as would have damped the ardour of a less zealous mind than Mr. Raffles possessed, and indeed it was the opinion of almost every Dutchman with whom he conversed, that such a system would never succeed, and that the attempt to introduce it would be attended with very bad consequences. But Mr. Raffles had formed a very different opinion, founded upon the soundest principles of reasoning, and with a philanthropy peculiar to his character, he made himself perfectly acquainted with the reception which such a change of system would experience generally throughout the island, and the result justified the opinion he then gave. It was in 1813 Mr. Raffles first acquainted the council of his intention to amend the system of land-revenue on the island, and the minute which he then recorded clearly and distinctly develops the just and liberal, as well as very able and enlightened view which he then took of the subject.

“ In obtaining the necessary information to enable him to frame such a system as, whilst it abolished the vicious practice hitherto pursued on the island, would strengthen



the resources of the government, and, by doing away feudal servitude, encourage industry in the cultivation and improvement of the land, the greatest exertions were required on Mr. Raffles' part, and he devoted himself with his accustomed enthusiasm to the task; night and day he worked at it. To satisfy himself upon all local points, to obtain personal intercourse and become acquainted with the character of the native Chiefs connected with, or in any way affected by, this new system, Mr. Raffles deemed it advisable to proceed to the eastern parts of the island, where he remained a considerable time, and visited every place, often undergoing the greatest personal exertions and fatigue, which few accompanying him were able to encounter; indeed, several were sufferers from the very long journeys he made, riding sometimes sixty and seventy miles in one day, a fatigue which very few constitutions are equal to in an Eastern climate. To give effect to the measure, he was aware that his personal presence would afford an influence and energy not otherwise to be obtained, whilst all delay for official reference would be avoided. He therefore did not return to Batavia till he had the satisfaction of seeing the complete success of this measure, which gave to his administration the credit of abolishing the most vicious and barbarous system, and of introducing one which gave to a most deserving and industrious population a freedom which had been hitherto most cruelly withheld from them.

“ Mr. Raffles returned to Batavia in good health and

high spirits, naturally elated with the complete success of all his plans, and finding in General Nightingall a cordial supporter. I consider that at this period he felt more enjoyment than at any other during his administration in Java.

“ The most friendly intercourse subsisted between the Governor's and General Nightingall's families ; they were constantly together ; and to the purest feelings of friendship and attachment which General Nightingall felt towards Mr. Raffles, he seemed to add the highest opinion and admiration of the shining talents and abilities which he found him to possess. At Buitenzorg the house was constantly filled with visitors, and I well remember at the time when Mr. Raffles was drawing up the minute of council which he recorded on the 11th of February, 1814, we had a large party at breakfast, dinner, and supper, from which he never absented himself, but on the contrary, was always one of the most animated at table, and yet contrived to find time sufficient to write that minute, which in itself would establish him to be a man of considerable ability and acquirement ; and this was written and composed so quickly, that he required three clerks to keep up and copy what he wrote ; so that, in fact, this minute was written with the greatest possible haste ; Mr. Raffles' object being to have a copy made and sent home by a vessel then under despatch in the roads at Batavia, and this he accomplished.

“ But Mr. Raffles' quickness at composition was re-

markable. He wrote a very fine, clear, legible hand; and I have often seen him write a letter at the same time that he was dictating to two assistants.

“ Immediately after recording the minute herein alluded to, despatches were received from Bengal, communicating to Mr. Raffles the unlooked-for and very unexpected intelligence of Major-General Gillespie having presented to the Supreme Government a list of charges against his administration in Java. These charges were of a most grave and serious nature; but Mr. Raffles met them like an innocent man. On the first perusal of them, his plan of reply was formed; and he answered every charge in the most clear, full, and satisfactory manner, as will be seen on reference to the book printed at Batavia, containing these charges and reply. But it is well worthy of remark, that when Mr. Raffles had finished his answer to the charges, he handed the whole to General Nightingall to peruse, who having gone through them, declared that, although (as he declared on his first assuming the command of the forces in the island) it was his fixed intention to have avoided all interference with past occurrences, and to have kept clear of any differences which had taken place previous to his arrival; yet after a careful perusal of the documents which had been laid before him, and with a full and firm conviction on his mind of the entire innocence of Mr. Raffles of all and every charge brought forward by Major-General Gillespie, he could no longer remain a quiet spectator, and

therefore in the handsomest, because altogether unsolicited, manner, he came forward to offer Mr. Raffles all the support and assistance in his power to give.

“ Nothing could be more gratifying to Mr. Raffles' feelings on such an occasion than to have the support of an officer of General Nightingall's respectable character, obtained solely by a confidence in the rectitude and purity of the conduct he adopted since the commencement of his administration, every act of which was known to, and most carefully examined by, General Nightingall previous to his making this kind and friendly offer; and indeed it will only require a momentary look at the charges, to feel convinced of their unfounded nature.

“ At the time when these charges were received, and their reception was a surprise to every person, the Government-house at Buitenzorg was quite filled with strangers. A large party, composed of Dutch and English, had been invited to witness the performance of a play, which was got up chiefly by the members of the Governor's staff. During this anxious time, when Mr. Raffles had so much upon his mind, not a visitor could perceive the slightest alteration in his manner; he was the same cheerful, animated person they had always found him; at dinner, and in the evening, he appeared perfectly disengaged, and only seemed anxious how best to promote and encourage the amusement, and contribute to the happiness and enjoyment of all around him.

“ When the clear and satisfactory reply was drawn out,

repelling every charge brought against Mr. Raffles, a proposition was made in council, and was recommended by General Nightingall, that confidential friends should be sent in charge of copies of these despatches to Bengal and to England, to meet the ex-parte statements which were known to be in circulation in both places. Mr. Assey, then secretary to government, was selected to proceed to Bengal, and as a vessel was then under despatch for England, it was deemed advisable to send me in charge of those despatches, together with a copy of the charges, and the reply sent to the Supreme Government. Before the vessel reached England the fate of Java had been decided; its restoration to the Dutch had been agreed upon, and consequently Java and its dependencies ceased to be of any interest to Great Britain."

Before proceeding to a detail of the effects produced upon the civil and political situation of Java by the introduction of so entire a change in the government, a view of those reasons which induced the opinion so strongly urged by Mr. Raffles may not be unacceptable. Under the guidance of the enlightened and benevolent views of Lord Minto, means were adopted to obtain every information, and to institute that local inquiry, so essential to the success of the measures proposed. His Lordship, in his instructions on the establishment of the government, expresses himself thus:—

“Contingents of rice, and indeed of other productions, have been hitherto required of the cultivators by Go-

vernment at an arbitrary rate. This also is a vicious system, to be abandoned as soon as possible. The system of contingents did not arise from the mere solicitude for the supply of the people, but was a measure alone of finance and control, to enable Government to derive a high revenue from a high price imposed on the consumer, and to keep the whole body of the people dependent on its pleasure for subsistence

“ I recommend a radical reform in this branch to the serious and early attention of Government. The principle of encouraging industry in the cultivation and improvement of land, by creating an interest in the effort and fruits of that industry, can be expected in Java only by a fundamental change in the whole system of landed property and tenure.

“ A wide field, but a somewhat distant one, is open to this great and interesting improvement; the discussion of the subject, however, must necessarily be delayed, till the investigation it requires is more complete. I shall transmit such thoughts as I have entertained, and such hopes as I have indulged, on this grand object of amelioration; but I am to request all the information and all the lights that this island can afford. On this branch nothing must be done that is not mature, because the exchange is too extensive to be suddenly or ignorantly attempted. But fixed and immutable principles of the human character and of human association, assure me of ultimate, and I hope not remote success, in views that are consonant with

every motive of action that operates on man, and are justified by the practice and experience of every flourishing country of the world."

In pursuance of these objects, the first subject which offered itself to the consideration of Mr. Raffles was as to the actual right of property, so far as it could be ascertained; it being with him a principle, "that nothing should be done to injure the existing rights of any class of the people, or to break down the barriers which prescriptive usage or actual institutions had authorized in the possession of property."

It appeared, from the most deliberate investigations, that in Java there existed no actual right of landed property between the Sovereign and the cultivator: the several officers, whether at the heads of districts, divisions, or towns, were nominated by the chief authority, and removeable at his pleasure. It was not unusual to find the descendants of those, who had once been high in office, reduced to a state of poverty among the lowest classes of society. Policy and justice required that some provision should be made for those actually in office at the time of the introduction of that change, which would at once deprive them of all their privileges.

It appeared that, under the late Dutch government, no communication whatever was held with the people. Through their Resident, living at the principal town in the district, all orders were conveyed to the Regent, who nominated the inferior officers, and from whom the

amount of revenue was received, the mode of collection remaining in his hands, unchecked by the control of any legislative measure whatever.

The service of the people was also required by the officers of the government, without any compensation being afforded: the example was naturally followed by the native Chiefs; and thus were the industry and energies of a people crushed by a system of feudal service, as destructive in its operation as repugnant to humanity—rendering the efforts of the cultivator hopeless to himself and unproductive to the state. Justice, humanity, benevolence, policy, and necessity, called for that change, the beneficial effects of which were so speedily and so gratefully realized.

The Dutch government looked for their revenue only in their commercial monopoly. The resources of the eastern districts were sacrificed to the exclusive commerce of Batavia, the capital; and previous to the administration of Marshal Daendels the whole amount of monies collected from those districts did not exceed 150,000 Spanish dollars per annum (£37,500 at par). Some improvements were effected in 1803 by Marshal Daendels, but the system of monopoly and of farming the public revenues being permitted to remain, no essential or permanent advantage was derived, either to the government or the people.

At the period of the capture of Java by the British, some partial and temporary relief was afforded to the



poverty of the country, by a large sum of money brought with the army and circulated in the country. The military disbursements of government in cash, the increase of commerce after the removal of the blockade, together with the friendly intercourse established with Western India, contributed to alleviate some portion of the distress: but as the system of farming the revenue to the Chinese, and of collecting the rental from the Regents only, excluded the peasantry from any immediate connexion with government, the specie thus circulated from the public treasury fell into few hands; the surplus was exported or hoarded, without benefit to government or advantage to the people.

Removing the barrier which existed to individual industry, giving to the cultivator security for his crops, abolishing the feudal service and transit duties, and at the same time affording a liberal compensation to the Chiefs and other officers for the loss of that authority, of which they were in actual possession, formed the leading features of that change which was, with such unparalleled celerity and success, introduced by Mr. Raffles.

That no difficulty might arise in the execution of Mr. Raffles' well-matured designs, such instructions were given, conformable to the peculiar circumstances of the various districts, as precluded almost the possibility of error on the part of the executive authorities; although those authorities were not at all times disposed to concur in the principles laid down.

The following is an extract from instructions to Mr.

Hopkins, who was appointed a commissioner for settling the revenue in those districts which were transferred from the Chinese, and similar instructions were circulated to the other Residents in the eastern districts, as far at least as local circumstances admitted.

“The internal management of the districts is to be taken into the hands of government, and to be administered without the intervention of native authority. The lands are to be rented for an annual payment in money, on the following general principles.

“It has been deemed advisable, on the first introduction of these arrangements, to enter generally into such a detailed system of management as would include an immediate consideration of the rights and interests of each individual cultivator; and in the instructions given in the other districts, it has been directed that the lands be in the first instance rented to the chief local authority in each village or community, whether recognised under the designation of *Petingi*, *Bakal*, *Surah*, or other title. But as the state of society and cultivation in the districts lately held by the Chinese may admit of an exception, and a more detailed settlement than elsewhere, you are authorized to introduce the same, to such an extent as may appear safe and practicable, with a due attention to the prejudices of the people and the tranquillity of the country.

“The heads of villages or communities being thus considered, leases are to be granted in the Javanese language.

“ In fixing the amount of rent, you will ascertain, as far as practicable, the extent of all existing burthens, imposts, and services whatever, and endeavour to determine the amount these have hitherto borne to the produce of the soil: which amount, after an equitable and liberal allowance for any oppression hitherto felt, is to form the basis of the rental to be demanded as the dues of government.

“ As far as my personal information extends, I am inclined to consider that these dues may be generally commuted, one district with another, for a payment in money equivalent to about two-fifths of the annual gross rice produce of the soil.

“ That the government and the country may receive the full benefit of the arrangements now in view, and that the principle may be clearly defined, it has been resolved to abolish all internal taxes, contributions, deliveries at inadequate rates, and forced services, whether to the European or native authority; and henceforward, whatever produce or labour may be required for the service of government, is, in every case and without exception, to be paid for at the current market rate.

“ As the first settlement to be made can only be considered as preparatory to a more accurate and permanent arrangement for the assessment of the lands, it is not deemed advisable that the leases should exceed the period of one year.

“ It being essential and just that a liberal provision

should be made for the Regents and other Chiefs, and there being no objection to their retaining a certain portion of land, the Regent of Passaruwang is to be allowed lands which will afford him an annual revenue of 2,000 rl. batto; and an equitable provision, in proportion, is to be made for the Regents of Poegar and Banjowangy.

“In order, however, that these appropriations may not interfere with the general system, these lands are to be regularly assessed in common with the other lands of the district, and entered upon the general rent-roll; but the rent is to be remitted, and considered as the amount of the respective pensions or salary of each individual.

“With these exceptions, and such other as political reasons may dictate, the whole of the lands are to be rented out to the Chiefs of the villages, on the principles already laid down.

“An entire separation is to be made between the judicial and revenue departments; and you will, as early as practicable, and as the existing system may be superseded by that now directed, forward a list of such permanent establishment of officers, writers, &c., for each, as may be necessary for the efficiency of the police and the despatch of business.

“The Regents are, in future, to be considered as the chief native officers in their respective districts; but it will be obvious, that by the new arrangement they must be effectually deprived of all political or other undue influ-

ence: and as the tranquillity of the country is an essential and necessary object in establishing the new order, it is presumed they may be most advantageously employed in the department of police, while it must not be forgotten that the watchful attention of the Resident must ever be directed to their conduct in the execution of this duty.

“ On this account, and as compensation for further emoluments foregone by the introduction of the new system, in addition to the advantages derived from the appropriation of land already directed, the Regent of Passaruwang is to be allowed a salary of 3,000 rl. batto; and the Regents of Poegar and Banjowangy in proportion, and to the extent that their services may be useful or available under the new arrangements.

“ The whole arrangements now directed are in no way to interfere with the payment of the contingent, recognition, or other dues to the government or the Regent, up to the present period, from which date the new organization is to be considered as entered upon.

“ This, however, being the middle of the Javanese year, and as inconveniences might result therefrom, in determining the amount of arrears to be paid on the old system, it is considered that the line may be equitably drawn, by fixing the same at one half-year's amount of the whole, a principle which you will observe in balancing the accounts of the Regents with government, and to be attended to in determining the demands to be made by them on the people.

“That the country may feel the effects of the new system immediately, the free exportation of rice and paddy to every part of Java has been authorized.”

The principles thus laid down in these instructions were further confirmed by the following Proclamation, dated Batavia, 15th October, 1813 :

“The Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council has, after the most minute consideration, deemed it advisable to establish an improved system of political economy throughout the island, with the intention of ameliorating the condition of all its inhabitants, by affording that protection to individual industry, which will insure to every class of society the equitable and undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of labour ; and while it is confidently expected that private happiness and public prosperity will be advanced under the change of system, such alterations and amendments will be hereafter adopted as experience may suggest, or the improving habits and manners of the body of the people may require.

“The following principles form the basis of the new arrangements, and are made public for general information.

“1. The undue influence and authority of the native Chiefs have been restricted ; but government avails itself of their services in the important department of the native police, which will be arranged upon fixed principles, adapted to the habits and original institutions of the people.

“ A competent provision in lands and in money has been allotted to such Chiefs; and it therefore becomes both their duty and their interest to encourage industry, and to protect the inhabitants.

“ 2. The government-lands will be let generally to the heads of villages, who will be held responsible for the proper management of such portions of the country as may be placed under their superintendence and authority. They will re-let these lands to the cultivators, under certain restrictions, at such a rate as shall not be found oppressive; and all tenants under government will be protected in their just rights, so long as they shall continue to perform their correspondent engagements faithfully; for it is intended to promote extensive industry, and consequent improvement, by giving the people an interest in the soil, and by instituting amongst them an acknowledged claim to the possession of the lands, that they may be thus induced to labour for their own profit and advantage.

“ 3. The system of vassalage and forced deliveries has been abolished generally throughout the island; but in the Batavian and Preangu regencies such a modification of the former arrangements has been carried into execution as it was found practicable, under existing circumstances, to introduce; and provisionally the Blandong system will be continued to a certain extent in the central forest districts.

“ 4. To encourage the cultivation of so important an article of export as coffee may become, when the trade of

Europe and America may be thrown open to free competition, government have stipulated to receive any surplus quantity of that commodity from the cultivators, at a reasonable and fixed rate, when a higher price cannot be obtained for it in the market.

“5. To extend free trade and commerce, and to promote a spirit of enterprise and speculation amongst the inhabitants, the Bloom Farms have been abolished, the duties upon the principal articles of export have been taken off, and it is intended to modify and amend the Custom-house regulations before the 1st of January. The toll-gates and transport duties of the interior have been diminished as much as possible, and in the gradual progression of improvement they will be finally abolished.

“6. Every facility will be afforded towards obtaining teak timber for the construction of small craft, and of such additional tonnage as, upon the improved system, will be undoubtedly required.

“7. Government have taken upon themselves the exclusive management of the salt department. It appears that the inhabitants in most parts of the island paid a very irregular and exorbitant price for this necessary article of consumption; while the system adopted by the farmers was radically vicious, and equally oppressive and vexatious to the people, as it was detrimental to the immediate interests of government.

“Such an improved system for the supply of salt will be immediately adopted as may appear advisable; and in



this and every other arrangement, the government propose the advancement of the interests and the happiness of the people at large, and the promotion of the public prosperity of this colony.

“Given at Batavia, this 15th day of October, 1813.  
By me, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Island of Java  
and its dependencies,

“T. S. RAFFLES.”

“By order of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor  
in Council,

“C. ASSEY, Sec. to Government.

“Council Chamber, Oct. 13, 1813.”

European power in Java, previously to the occupation of the island by the English, appears to have been exercised only to invade and to destroy the property of the natives.

“Whoever has viewed the fertile plains of Java,” says Mr. Raffles, in a minute on the introduction of the new system of government, “or beheld with astonishment the surprising efforts of human industry, which have carried cultivation to the summit of the most stupendous mountains, will be inclined to consider that nothing short of a permanent interest in the soil could have effected such a change in the face of the country; and it ought not to be forgotten, that anterior to the establishment of the Mahomedan religion in Java, the cultivators of the soil were considered to rank as the first class in the state: for,

according to the institutions of Majopahit, it was ordained, 'that, next to the Sovereign, shall be considered and respected the cultivators of the soil; they shall be the first class in the state below the Sovereign; next to them shall follow the other classes; first, the artists; secondly, the warriors: and thirdly, the merchants.'

“Who will not pause for a moment, to contemplate the peaceful, the beneficent influence of such institutions?—The cultivators of the soil shall be the first class!”

How do we find these wise institutions of Majopahit supported and protected?—forced servitude—taxes so numerous as to become difficult of enumeration. Not one article of produce, manufacture, or consumption, which passed through the country, but what some tax was levied upon it, and that too by corrupt and extortionate agents.

In every district a different mode of taxation existed—and, in general, these taxes were farmed out to Chinese.

The baneful influence of this system was but too clearly developed in the debasement of the popular mind, and in that listless and apathetic feeling which appeared to characterize the Javanese nation. Whilst the rich and powerful were living in pampered luxury, the poor provincials laboured under all the horrors of penury and want; but blessed with a fruitful soil and an humble submissive mind, they were enabled to bear up under all these accumulated deprivations and misfortunes.

The administration of justice in the courts of circuit

partook alike of this dreadful intolerance. The jury required did not exceed five in number, and these were chosen from a class of men who could have no common feelings—no common rights; who, being Europeans, were in no way whatever the equals of the person tried.

The law was the law of Europe. The jury, under their best prejudices, were influenced by that law; and its meanings and penalties were applied to a people who reasoned in a manner so entirely different, and who often, for the first time, became acquainted with those laws when denounced as their victims.

Far different were the principles adopted by Mr. Raffles. It was the chief feature in his policy to secure to the inhabitants, whether Hindus or Mahomedans, the possession of their own laws, and a trial conformable to the practice of their own courts; the experiment was successful. A native jury, consisting of an intelligent foreman and four others, decided upon the facts; the law was then taken down as expounded by the native law-officers, and the sentence, with the opinion of the judge of circuit, upon the application of the Dutch and colonial law on the cases, was forwarded for the modification or confirmation of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Enough has been said, it is hoped, to convey some idea of the extent of that change, which the enlarged policy of its Governor introduced into the island of Java; and this portion of his life may be closed with a few observa-

tions of his own upon the effects which the change had produced, and was in the act of producing.

“ If I look forward,” observes Mr. Raffles, “ to the effects of the change of system as it may contribute to the happiness of the people, the improvement of the country, and the consequent increase of the public revenue, the result is incalculable. Let the present wretched state of the Dutch metropolis of the East be contrasted with the flourishing state of the British establishments, wherever they have been formed, and it will speak a volume in favour of the change. Desolation and ruin would seem to have tracked the steps of the Dutch power wherever it has extended ; individual prosperity and national riches have accumulated under the English. The principles of government are radically different, and with such experience before us, can it be a question on which side we shall rely ?

“ The mass of the population, snatched as they are, at a favourable moment, from the destructive grasp of Mahomedan despotism and indefinite exaction, and established in the possession of property, to be secured by impartial justice, administered to them in a simple and prompt mode, adapted to their peculiar sentiments and institutions, afford a wide scope to the philosopher as well the statesman. A new people, still advancing in civilization even under the former restraints, with what accelerated progress will they not proceed, when their natural energies have fair play ? It was but a few months ago

when the lower class of Javanese were apparently lost to every idea of their own advantage, governed by apathy, and almost insensible to the value of property; so strongly prejudiced in favour of their Chiefs, so simple and so unenlightened, that the least breath of disaffection could blow up the flames of rebellion. Mere machines in the hands of designing artifice, they could be rendered subservient to promote the views of ambition, or the frenzy of religious fanaticism. They looked not up to the superior power, but to the intermediate authority: they knew little of the European character, and Europeans were still less acquainted with their habits and customs. The former government had seldom consulted the advancement of their interests, and the result was what might have been anticipated.

“ On the part of the Javanese I am justified in asserting, that they feel the present interference in favour of the cultivators of the soil, as a revival of that due consideration of the interests of this important class of the community, which has not existed since the days of Majopahit; and I have the satisfaction to believe, that nothing will be found to have been done, or to be in progress, but what will be useful, and a necessary preliminary to any more permanent or approved system which may be ordered, and which may have for its object justice for individuals, the improvement of mankind, and the prosperity of the government, founded on the mutual advantages of the people.”

“ I have said so much on the effects of the change, and they are so obvious on general principles, that I should but intrude on your time by enlarging upon them here. I cannot but look upon the accomplishment of this undertaking as the most conspicuous and important under my administration; and in its success or otherwise I am willing to stand or fall. I need not tell your Lordship, that while it was in agitation I had many an uneasy hour, and I suffered no small share of mental anxiety and bodily fatigue while it was in progress: but now that it has been happily accomplished I am amply repaid for all. It was my lot personally to superintend the settlement in every district; the necessity of that personal superintendence obliged me to leave Batavia at three several times, and during the last to be absent for three months from the capital; but my immediate presence in the different parts of the island could alone have concluded the settlement in so short a period, and it has had the advantage of rendering me intimately acquainted with every thing. I have been able to judge for myself throughout, and although I have not failed to avail myself of all the talent and experience I could find, I may safely say that I have in no case decided without a conviction brought home to my own mind that I was right.

“ The arrangements for the interior of the country being completed, my next object will be to simplify and modify the unwieldy establishments of the towns, particularly those in Batavia.

“ I have gone on as long as it was possible from day to day in the expectation of a change of government, but I shall not feel myself satisfied in longer delaying those radical reforms, so essential for the health and character of our government. Much odium has already attached from the continuance of the Dutch institutions so long, and I owe it to my own character, and to your Lordship, to render my administration ‘ not only without fear, but without reproach.’

“ I consider them as now fairly before an impartial judge. I shall, unless otherwise directed by a superior authority, continue to be guided by the principles which I have laid down, and which have appeared to me, after the most deliberate consideration, to be just and right.

“ I am happy to inform your Lordship that Banca thrives well under the administration of Captain A’Court. A report upon the island by Dr. Horsfield will be sent to the Court of Directors by this opportunity, accompanied by specimens of the mineralogy of the island.

“ The intercourse with Japan has been opened, and we have received a very advantageous return in copper and camphor. I look forward to the possibility of establishing a permanent British interest in that quarter; but I will reserve this subject for another letter.

“ I am, &c. &c.

“ T. S. R.”

EXTRACT OF A PRIVATE LETTER FROM MR. RAFFLES TO THE  
LATE SIR HUGH INGLIS." *Feb.* 13, 1814.

\* \* \* \* \*

" Whatever may be the eventual fate of Java, whether it is decided that the colony be attached to the Company's possessions, or even given up at a peace to a foreign power (which God forbid), the inhabitants of Java will have the happiness to bless the day which placed them under such a system of government.

" I trust that the subject will receive an indulgent consideration; and that I may be honoured with the Court's instructions for my future guidance.

" In every reference which has latterly been made to the Supreme Government, a hesitation in forming an opinion for the guidance of this government has been evinced, arising from the uncertain and provisional tenure of the government as it now stands; and it is possible that the same hesitation may still exist with regard to the two great questions now submitted, and it is on this account particularly that I am induced to seek early instructions from Europe.

" I have been forced to act, in every measure of importance, on my own responsibility, not from the superior authorities being ignorant of the real interests of the colony, but from a hesitation, on their part, to involve themselves with the government which might be finally fixed.



“ I have invariably invited and courted the commands of the superior authorities on questions which I considered of moment; and necessity alone, and the conviction that the favourable moment for action might otherwise be lost, has induced me to act expressly from my own judgment. Those only who have been in similar cases, can feel the weight of responsibility which attaches.”

Mr. Raffles was anxious to diffuse the blessings of freedom throughout the whole of the varied populations under his charge; and, as the British Parliament had at this time passed an act, which declared the slave-trade to be felony, he established it as a colonial law: and it continues in force to this day, since it cannot be repealed without express authority from the mother-country.

The leading inhabitants possessing slaves, concurred with him in his efforts to abolish this dreadful evil throughout the Dutch possessions. the whole of the slaves in the Island were registered, according to the forms of the West India Islands,—with the view of giving them their liberty. The Bengal authorities, however, refused their sanction, because, as they alleged, it had not been determined whether the government of Java was to be permanently administered by the King, or by the Company.

Soon after this determination was received, the face of public affairs entirely changed in Europe; the Dutch colonies were to be restored without reserve, or condition in favour of this unfortunate class of beings. As a last struggle in their behalf, Mr. Raffles effected the esta-

blishment of a society termed the “Java Benevolent Society,” in the hope of interesting in this effort those who succeeded him.

In a letter to Lord Minto, dated July 2, 1814, Mr. Raffles, referring to the transfer of the Island to the Dutch, says, “If I were to believe that the Javanese were ever again to be ruled on the former principles of government, I should, indeed, quit Java with a heavy heart; but a brighter prospect is, I hope, before them. Holland is not only re-established, but I hope renovated; her Prince has been educated in the best of all *schools*—adversity; and I will hope the people of Java will be as happy, if not happier, under the Dutch than under the English. I say happier, because Java will, in importance, be more to Holland than she could ever be to England; and the attention bestowed by the one country must naturally be greater than that likely to be afforded by the other.

“Mr. Muntinge has often reminded me that, when conversing with your Lordship on the judicial regulations, you observed, it was not certain whether England would retain permanent possession in Java; *but in the mean time let us do as much good as we can.* This we have done, and whatever change may take place, the recollection can never be displeasing.”

Mr. Raffles had long considered an intercourse with Japan an object of great importance to the English nation. The peculiarity of the China trade—the monopoly of the tea—and the uncertainty with which it was attended, made

him desirous of opening the trade with Japan to the British merchant. To establish a British Factory in Japan, and furnish a population of not less than twenty-five millions with the staple commodities, and with the manufactures of Great Britain, was in itself a great national object; but it was of more particular consideration from its relative importance to China, and the apparent facility of eventually superseding the commerce which exists between that country and Japan.

From the year 1611, when the Dutch established commercial relations with Japan, till 1671, (a period of sixty years,) their speculations were unrestricted, and their profits enormous. This they call their golden age of trade; they opened a mine of wealth, and they thought it inexhaustible, as well as easily wrought. In 1640, the Company obtained a return in gold which yielded a profit of upwards of a million of guilders. For some time previous to 1663, they procured a return of silver to the extent of two hundred chests, of one hundred pounds each, and it was suggested that it would be desirable for as many chests of gold of the same weight to be sent in future. These gold and silver ages of Japan commerce passed away, and in the latter part of the seventeenth century commenced what the Dutch called its brazen age, that is, its export in copper, which has ever since continued the staple of the Japan market. Mr. Raffles resolved, therefore, to send a mission for the purpose of transferring to the British government the trade exclusively enjoyed

by the Dutch (but which even with them was confined to two annual ships from the port of Batavia, and this had ceased four years), and for opening to the manufacturers of Great Britain the supply of that extensive empire, in exchange for the valuable commodities that might be received in return.

The limited extent of the trade latterly carried on by the Dutch was owing, in no trifling degree, to the conduct of their officers, in sacrificing the public interest to a regard for their own private emolument, which was effectually consulted by narrowing the trade: as on that contracted footing, their means of advantage bore a greater proportion to the whole extent, and the smaller number of officers required in conducting it, afforded them every advantage of concealment.

At such a distance from control, and himself the channel of communication to his superiors, the Dutch Resident, in common with the other public officers of the Dutch government, receiving but a very limited salary, was left to his own discretion to improve the advantage, of whatever nature, his place could be made to yield him, a situation little calculated to command or obtain respect; and the spectacle of the representative of his nation, scrambling for every petty advantage, degraded the character of his countrymen in the eyes of the Japanese, endowed as they are with no common share of intelligence and discernment.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Domestic afflictions—Tour of the Island for the benefit of his health—Native companions—Malay character—Origin of their race—Their literature—Civilization—The Moluccas—Celebes—Expedition to Bali and Macasar—People of Bali—Casts—Funeral ceremonies—Wives burning—Account of eruption of Tomboro mountain—Prospects of the Restoration of Java to the Dutch—Letter to Lord Buckingham on advantages of retaining it—Value of the Moluccas—Banca—Character of the East insular tribes—New government proposed for Java—Merits of the individuals employed—His own labours—Javanese language—Ancient sculpture and remains—Intention to write the History of Java—Review of his administration in Java—Close of it.*

AT this period (1815) it pleased God to deprive Mr. Raffles of some of his nearest and dearest connexions \*, as well as of many of his earliest and most intimate friends ; and whilst he was mourning the death of these, he heard, to use his own words, “ that Lord Minto was snatched away from the embraces of his friends and family, at the very moment he was to receive the only reward which in this world could recompense his past labours—a calm and placid recollection of the successful career he had run.” To an ardent enthusiastic mind, warmly alive to the brightest

\* Death of Mrs. Raffles. Mr. Raffles married, in the year 1805, the widow of W. Fancourt, Esq., of Lanark, North Britain.

feelings of friendship, and delighting in all the closer ties of domestic life, such a rapid succession of melancholy events, added to the anxiety and uncertainty of public duty, was most trying; and even Mr. Raffles' buoyant spirit yielded to the pressure. For a long time it was feared that his life would fall a sacrifice to the keenness of his feelings. The moment he was able to attend to any business, he was recommended to make an excursion over the Island, in the hope that change of scene would dispel the weight of grief with which he seemed to be overwhelmed.

During this tour he found employment for his active mind in visiting all the remains of antiquity in the country and collecting information connected with its early history, with which Europeans were previously unacquainted. These materials were at a future period published in his *History of Java*.

But though his mind was thus occupied, his health derived no material advantage from the journey. It was thought advisable that he should leave *Buitenzorg*, and remove to *Ciceroa*, a more elevated situation. He took with him several of his staff, and a party of natives, whose good sense and intelligence had attracted his notice, and whom he had brought with him from the eastern part of the Island.

With these last he passed the greater part of every morning and evening in reading and translating, with the greatest rapidity and ease, the different legends with







which they furnished him, particularly the Brata Yudha. His translation of this singular and curious poem will be found in his History of Java. It was a work requiring considerable labour and time; but it was a common remark with him, that if a man were fully and seriously determined on accomplishing any undertaking within human power at all, he would succeed by diligence and attention. At this time he rose early, and commenced business before breakfast; immediately after this he went through the official duties of the day; after which he devoted the remainder of the morning, till dinner-time, to the natives who were living with him. He dined at four o'clock, and took a walk for the sake of his health in the evening; and, until he retired to rest, he was occupied in reading, translating, and compiling. But his strength and health did not return, perhaps from his not being able to amuse his mind without over-exertion and too much application.

The following are extracts of letters which he wrote at this period:—

TO MR. MARSDEN FROM MR. RAFFLES.

*“ January 1st, 1815.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,

\* \* \* \* \*

“ The Malays are a people by no means far advanced in civilization; nor in their traditions, regarding their origin, do they trace back to a far distant date. In common with other nations in a similar state of civiliza-

tion, their ideas may not be very numerous, nor their abstract notions very correct; but their meaning and their attention to passing events are remarkable. Their generally wandering and predatory life induces them to follow the fortune of a favourite Chief, and to form themselves into a variety of separate clans. They may not be inaptly compared, as far as their habits and notions go, to some of the borderers in North Britain, not many centuries ago. The traditions regarding their early history are far less blended with the marvellous than the mighty feats of Fingal; and if in their attempts to account for their origin, we find a mixture of mythological fable, this surely is not of itself sufficient to invalidate what may otherwise be considered as matter of fact.

“ In relating any event which has recently passed, a Malay is always peculiarly simple and clear. The following character of a Malay, as a man, will be found tolerably correct:—

“ “ The Malay, living in a country where nature grants (almost without labour) all his wants, is so indolent, that when he has rice, nothing will induce him to work. Accustomed to wear arms from his infancy, to rely on his own prowess for safety, and to dread that of his associates, he is the most correctly polite of all savages, and not subject to those starts of passion so common to more civilized nations. But with all his forbearance, he is feelingly alive to insult; submits with a bad grace to the forms to which, in a civilized life, he finds himself obliged

to conform; and when these are either numerous or enforced with supercilious contumely, or the delays of office, he flies to the woods, where, with a little rice boiled in a bamboo, eaten with sprouts of the surrounding trees as a leaf, *he feels he is free.*

““ Example will gradually generate wants; and wants, industry, and a sense of safety supersede the use of arms, and generate other manners.

““ That strong predilection which has been observed in the natives of the Malay peninsula and surrounding countries, for the English, will soon cease on their more intimate connexion, if treated with the contumely common in India. This results from the independent spirit of the people, who value that independence beyond any consideration of advantage, if accompanied with what they deem insult.

““ The consequence of such behaviour is first felt by individuals, who interest their families, a number of families interest a clan, a number of clans a nation, and in their revenges they await with patience for years, when they seldom fail to retaliate, and that often on the innocent.

““ As a scholar, it is allowed that the only knowledge of which he is inclined to boast is derived from the Arabs. That their literary compositions should bear the stamp of Mahomedan direction will, therefore, not be surprising; but it will be observed, that in poetry, and in every essay from the heart, allusion is only made to natural objects,

and the earlier fables of Hindu mythology ; while in historical and dry compositions of the head, these more natural feelings usually give way to Mahomedan notions. This distinction is easily discernible by any person in the least acquainted with Malayan literature, for literature I must call it.

“ ‘ To prove that the traditions and historical notices of the Malays are not altogether devoid of interest, would require little more than the publication of a fair translation of some of their more popular performances. I hope, at no very distant date, some of these may appear.

“ ‘ The Indian islands appear to have been very fertile in alphabets ; they are all, with the exception of the characters now used by the Malays, of Hindu origin. It was long the idea that Sumatra was the *Tapro Bana* of the ancients.

“ ‘ The general opinion entertained regarding the origin of the different native establishments in the Indian Archipelago, and which is supported by tradition and native history, and by the traces of character, language, and habits discernible among the different nations at the present day, is, that the Indian islands were first peopled from the continent of Asia ; and the country lying between the Gulf of Siam and China was, in all probability, the main-land from whence the first settlers emigrated.

“ ‘ This probability is supported by the contiguity of this part of the continent to the Islands ; its extensive population ; the intimate connexion which appears in the

earliest time to have existed between the principal states of the Archipelago and the countries of Siam, Laos, and Champa; the similarity which still exists in many of the customs and usages, and in the language of the less civilized tribes in the Eastern Seas.

“ At what period this emigration first took place, is at present beyond rational conjecture; but a more intimate acquaintance with the Eastern Peninsula of India may hereafter throw some light upon the subject.

“ If the original inhabitants are thus admitted to have issued from this part of the Continent, it will be no difficult matter to account for the resemblance of the Malay to the Tartar, and the similarity which is found to exist in all the genuine languages of the Islands.

“ The next point is to trace from whence those rude and savage tribes received their first rudiments of civilization; whether from Egypt or the colonies established by that power, or at a subsequent period from an Indian country, may be a matter of doubt, but that they were early visited by traders from the west of India seems established on incontrovertible evidence.

“ The Javanese annals do not trace the first coming of the people from Western India much beyond a thousand years back, but tradition justifies us in believing, that, long before Java was civilized, the inhabitants of the more Eastern Islands, and particularly the Moluccas, had considerably emerged from a state of barbarism. This tradition is strongly confirmed by the probability that the

rich productions of the Spice Islands would have been the first to excite the cupidity of Indian traders, in the same manner as they were subsequently the first to attract the attention of European speculators; and by the circumstance of the acknowledged antiquity and superiority, even at this day, of the language spoken in the Moluccas.

“‘ It is an extraordinary fact, that while the question regarding the country from whence the Malayan tribes first issued should be confined almost exclusively to Sumatra and the Peninsula of Malacca, the highest Malay is admitted to be spoken in the Moluccas; in proof of this fact, it is only necessary to refer to the Malayan version of the Scriptures, printed by the Dutch government, which is universally allowed to be composed in the best language, and in the language of the Moluccas, but to be scarcely intelligible to ordinary readers belonging to the more Western Isles.

“‘ When the intercourse between Western India and the Eastern Islands declined, or when it was first replaced by the traders from Arabia, we are not correctly informed.

“‘ In Java the Indians would appear to have established their principal colony: but traces of their communications with the other islands may be easily found, particularly in Sumatra, and in the Celebes, where the written characters now in use bear the evident stamp of Sanscrit origin. From this intimate connexion between Western India and all the islands of the Archipelago, we may easily account for the extensive introduction of Sanscrit terms

into the languages of the Islanders, and to the establishment of the earliest independent states of which tradition makes mention.

“ Thus the sovereignties of the Moluccas, of Celebes, of Java, and of Sumatra, may have been first established, while colonies from these, in process of time, extended the habits of civilization to the coasts of Borneo, the adjacent islands, and the Peninsula of Malacca.

“ Before the Eastern Seas were visited by European navigators, the Moluccas had fallen under the sway of the Chieftains of Celebes, and the people had lost much of that importance of character for which in earlier times they had been distinguished. Yet there is reason to believe that many of the petty states in the Eastern part of the Archipelago and in the South Seas were first planted by colonies from the Moluccas.

“ But it was principally from the Island of Celebes at a subsequent period that colonies were thrown out: these peculiar and enterprising people appear to have extended their influence at one period, so as to have included within the range of their authority the Philippines on one side, and the countries in the Straits of Malacca on the other. Acheen and the Peninsula of Malacca were early visited by adventurers from Celebes; and it was in one of these distant expeditions that the people of Celebes are said to have established the kingdom of Menangkabu in Sumatra, and to have given the designation of *Malaya* to the people now so called.

“ ‘ The people of Celebes have a tradition that when their celebrated Chief, Sawira Geding, was exploring the Western countries, he put into one of the rivers in Sumatra, where a considerable part of his followers deserted him, and running into the interior, connected themselves with the people of the country, and established the kingdom of Menangkabu. These people were, for the most part, of the lowest class, employed by Sawira Geding in cutting fire-wood and procuring water for his fleet, and are represented by him to have been captives from the Moluccas, or savages from the interior of Celebes, and have the term Malay, from Mala, to bring, and aya, wood: Malaya, a wood-bringer, or as we should say a wood-cutter, and to this day the people of Celebes look down with the greatest contempt on a Malaya, and are in the habit of repeating the origin of the name.

“ ‘ The people of Celebes have from time immemorial been distinguished among the Eastern nations for their spirit in commerce, in maritime enterprise, at a period when the more peaceable inhabitants of Java were diligently cultivating the soil, and confining their views to domestic concerns. This enterprising people will be found to have established themselves in almost every other part of the Archipelago.

“ ‘ The tradition above noticed, regarding the origin of the Malays, is supported by the very great similarity of language, of features, of character, of dress, and of habits, as observable at the present day · the Malay resembles



the inhabitant of Celebes very closely, both in his features, and form, in his moral character, his dress, and his occupations; but in every thing he is his inferior—a lower caste of the same character and people.

“‘ It was probably during this period, that the Malay countries first imbibed that portion of Javanese literature which is to be found in their books; but the principal accession which the Malay and other languages derived from the Sanscrit, was in all probability received direct at a much earlier date; and this supposition will account for the Sanscrit words which are used by the Malays being in some instances much purer than those forming part of the Javanese language.

“‘ The higher language of Java is almost entirely Sanscrit; but the termination of the words would appear in many instances to have assumed an arbitrary form. In the Malayan language, the Sanscrit words are not subject to this arbitrary or peculiar form, and when words of this description, of which there are many, are engrafted on the Malayan, the Malays invariable term them *B'husa Java*, or the Javanese language.

“‘ At the period when the influence of Java was thus extending itself over the Archipelago, it was arrested in its progress by the rapid establishment of the religion of Mahomet, and Java itself had scarcely recovered from the shock of conversion to this faith, when the Europeans found their way round the Cape of Good Hope.

“‘ To bring forward all the evidence that could be ad-

duced in support of the above general conclusions would swell this,' &c. &c. \* \* \* \* \*

“ I have lately sent an expedition under General Nightingall, to Bali and Macasar; the information obtained from Bali is briefly as follows:—The natives are divided into four castes, Bramana, Satriga, Wisya, and Sudra.

“ The Bramanas are of two classes Bramana Sava, and Bramana Budu; the former prevails. The Budus eat of all food, even dogs, and it is said by the Bramanas (their enemies) that they eat rice off a corpse which has been kept several months. The Bramanas do not perform public religious offices, the Sudras have charge of the temples; there are rude images among them; and in these temples they worship chiefly tutelar deities of places; a Bramana is respected according to his age and learning, he cannot eat from the hands of a younger. The Bramana does not worship idols. They say the four castes issued from the mouth, breast, belly, and feet of Brahma.

“ The Rajahs are Sadrayas or Wisayu; after death the corpse is kept a long time, by the higher classes above a year, by the lower at least two months; the dead bodies are preserved by daily fumigation with benzoin, &c.; they are then burned, except children who have not shed their teeth, and persons dying of small-pox, who are buried immediately. The widow of the Sadraya and Wisayu classes generally burns herself with her husband's corpse: this, however, is voluntary, and not the wives only, but concubines, and female slaves also, sacrificing themselves on

such occasions. The father of the present Rajah of Balibing was burned with seventy-four women. It is customary with some classes to throw the dead bodies into the sea."

Mr. Raffles gives the following account of the eruption from the Tomboro Mountain, in the Island of Sambawa, which took place at this time (the 11th and 12th of April, 1815), one of the most violent and extraordinary of such explosions yet known.

"To preserve an authentic account of the violent and extraordinary eruption of the Tomboro Mountain on Sambawa, in April last, I required from the several Residents of districts on this Island a statement of the circumstances that occurred within their knowledge; and from their replies the following narrative is collected. It is, perhaps, incomplete until some further accounts are received of the immediate effects upon the mountain itself; but the progress is sufficiently known to render interesting a present account of the phenomenon, which exceeds any one of a similar description on record. The first explosions were heard on this Island in the evening of the 5th of April, they were noticed in every quarter, and continued at intervals until the following day. The noise was, in the first instance, almost universally attributed to distant cannon; so much so, that a detachment of troops were marched from Djocjocarta, in the expectation that a neighbouring post was attacked, and along the coast boats were in two instances dispatched in quest of a supposed ship in distress.

“On the following morning, however, a slight fall of ashes removed all doubt as to the cause of the sound; and it is worthy of remark, that as the eruption continued, the sound appeared to be so close, that in each district it seemed near at hand; it was attributed to an eruption from the Marapi, the Gunung Kloot or the Gunung Bromo.

“From the 6th, the sun became obscured; and it had every appearance of being enveloped in fog: the weather was sultry, and the atmosphere close and still: the sun seemed shorn of its rays, and the general stillness and pressure of the atmosphere foreboded an earthquake. This lasted several days, the explosions continued occasionally, but less violent, and less frequently than at first. Volcanic ashes also began to fall, but in small quantities; and so slightly as to be hardly perceptible in the western districts.

“This appearance of the atmosphere remained with little variation, until the 10th of April, and till then it does not appear that the volcano attracted much observation, or was considered of greater importance than those which have occasionally burst forth in Java. But on the evening of the 10th the eruptions were heard more loud, and more frequent from Cheribon eastward; the air became darkened by the quantity of falling ashes, and in several situations, particularly at Solo and Rembang, many said that they felt a tremulous motion of the earth. It is universally remarked in the more eastern districts, that the explosions

were tremendous, continuing frequently during the 11th, and of such violence as to shake the houses perceptibly ; an unusual thick darkness was remarked all the following night, and the greater part of the next day. At Solo, on the 12th, at four P. M., objects were not visible at 300 yards distance. At Gresie, and other districts more eastward, it was dark as night the greater part of the 12th of April, and this saturated state of the atmosphere lessened as the cloud of ashes passed along and discharged itself on its way. Thus the ashes, which were eight inches deep at Banyuwangi, were but two in depth at Sumanap, and still less in Gresie ; and the sun does not seem to have been actually obscured in any district westward of Samarang.

“No description of mine, however, can so well express what happened, as the extracts from the reports at several places ; the remarks there made are applicable also to all the other districts, only in a lesser degree, as the same became more distant from the cause of the phenomena.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM GRESIE.

“ I woke on the morning of the 12th, after what seemed to be a very long night, and taking my watch to the lamp, found it to be half-past eight o'clock ; I immediately went out, and found a cloud of ashes descending ; at nine o'clock no day-light ; the layer of ashes on the terrace before my door at the Kradenan measures one line in thickness ; ten A. M. a faint glimmering of light can

now be perceived over-head; half-past ten, can distinguish objects fifty yards distant; eleven, A. M. breakfasted by candle-light, the birds began to chirrup as at the approach of day; half-past eleven, can discover the situation of the sun through a thick cloud of ashes; one, P. M. found the layer of ashes one line and a half thick, and measured in several places with the same results; three, P. M. the ashes have increased one-eighth of a line more; five, P. M. it is now lighter, but still I can neither read nor write without candle. In travelling through the district on the 13th, the appearances were described with very little variation from my account; and I am universally told that no one remembers, nor does their tradition record, so tremendous an eruption. Some look upon it as typical of a change, of the re-establishment of the former government; others account for it in an easy way, by reference to the superstitious notions of their legendary tales, and say that the celebrated Nyai Loroh Kidul has been marrying one of her children, on which occasion she has been firing salutes from her supernatural artillery. They call the ashes the dregs of her ammunition.'

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM SUMANAP.

“ ‘On the evening of the 10th the explosions became very loud; one in particular shook the town, and they were excessively quick, resembling a heavy cannonade. Towards evening, next day, the atmosphere thickened so much, that by four o'clock it was necessary to light

candles. At about seven, P. M., of the 11th, the tide being about ebb, a rush of water from the bay occasioned the river to rise four feet, and it subsided again in about four minutes; the bay was much agitated about this time, and was illuminated from a northerly direction. On the island of Sahotie, fire was seen distinctly at a short distance to the south-east. The uncommon darkness of this night did not break till ten and eleven, A. M., of the 12th, and it could hardly be called day-light all day. Volcanic ashes fell in abundance, and covered the earth about two inches thick, the trees also were loaded with them.'

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM BANYUWANGI.

“ ‘At ten, P. M. of the 1st of April, we heard a noise resembling a cannonade, which lasted, at intervals, till nine o'clock next day; it continued at times loud, at others resembling distant thunder; but on the night of the 10th, the explosions became truly tremendous, frequently shaking the earth and sea violently. Towards morning they again slackened, and continued to lessen gradually till the 14th, when they ceased altogether. On the morning of the 3rd of April, ashes began to fall like fine snow; and in the course of the day they were half-an-inch deep on the ground. From that time till the 11th the air was constantly impregnated with them to such a degree, that it was unpleasant to stir out of doors. On the morning of the 11th, the opposite shore of Bali was

completely obscured in a dense cloud, which gradually approached the Java shore, and was dreary and terrific. By one, P. M., candles were necessary; by four, P. M., it was pitch-dark; and so it continued until two o'clock of the afternoon of the 12th, ashes continuing to fall abundantly: they were eight inches in depth at this time. After two o'clock it began to clear up; but the sun was not visible till the 14th, and during this time it was extremely cold. The ashes continued to fall, but less violently, and the greatest depth, on the 15th of April, was nine inches.

“ ‘ All reports concur in stating, that so violent and extensive an eruption has not happened within the memory of the oldest inhabitants, nor within tradition. They speak of similar effects in a lesser degree, when an eruption took place from the volcano of Carang Assum, in Bali, about seven years ago; and it was at first supposed that this mountain was the seat of eruption in the present instance. The Balinese attributed the event to a recent dispute between the two Rajahs of Baliling, which terminated in the death of the younger Rajah, by order of his brother.

“ ‘ The haziness and heat of the atmosphere, and occasional fall of volcanic ashes, continued until the 14th, or, in some parts of the island, until the 17th of April: they were cleared away universally by a heavy fall of rain after which the atmosphere became clear and more cool; and it would seem that this seasonable relief prevented much injury to the crops, and removed an appearance of epidemic disease, which was beginning to prevail. This was



especially the case at Batavia, where, for the two or three days preceding the rain, many persons were attacked with fever. As it was, however, no material injury was felt beyond the districts of Banyuwangi. The cultivators every where took the precaution to shake off the ashes from the growing paddy as they fell, and the timely rain removed an apprehension very generally entertained, that insects would have been generated by the long continuance of the ashes at the root of the plant. At Rembang, where the rain did not fall till the 17th, and the ashes had been considerable, the crops were somewhat injured. In Gresik the injury was less; but in Banyuwangi and the adjacent part of the island, on which the cloud of ashes spent its force, the injury was more extensive: 126 horses and eighty-six head of cattle also perished, chiefly from want of forage, during a month from the time of the eruption.

“ The local effects of this eruption have been ascertained by Lieutenant Owen Phillips, who proceeded to Sumbawa for this purpose, and was charged to distribute to the sufferers a supply of rice, dispatched by this government on hearing of the extreme distress to which the inhabitants of Sumbawa had been reduced.

“ The Noquedah of a Malay prow from Timor had reported that on the 11th of April, while at sea, far distant from Sumbawa, he was in utter darkness; that on his passing the Tomboro Mountain at a distance of five miles, the lower part of it was in flames, and the upper part covered with clouds: he went on shore for water, and

found the ground covered with ashes to the depth of three feet, several large prows thrown on the land by a concussion of the sea, and many of the inhabitants dead from famine. On leaving Sumbawa, he experienced a strong current to the westward, and fell in with great quantities of cinders floating on the sea, through which he with difficulty forced his way: he was surrounded by them the whole of the night of the 12th, and says they formed a mass of two feet thick, and several miles in extent. This person states that the volcano of Carang Assam in Bali was in commotion at the same time; and it appears from the several reports, that a greater rumbling than usual was heard in the mountains in the Rembang district, as well as in the Gunning Gede in the Preanger Regencies; but after a strict inquiry, it does not appear that any simultaneous movement or connexion could be traced on this occasion along the chain of volcanic mountains running east and west in Java.'

“ The Honourable Company's cruizer, Benares, was at this time at Macasar, and the following official report, received from the Commander of this vessel, confirms the circumstances already related.

“ ‘ On the 5th of April, a firing of cannon was heard at Macasar, continuing at intervals all the afternoon, and apparently coming from the southward:—towards sunset the reports seemed to have approached much nearer, and sounded like heavy guns, with occasional slight reports between. Supposing it to be occasioned by

pirates, a detachment of troops was embarked on board the Honorable Company's cruizer Benares, and sent in search of them, but after examining the neighbouring Islands, returned to Macasar on the 8th, without having found any cause of the alarm. During the night of the 11th, the firing was again heard, but much lower, and towards morning the reports were in quick succession, sometimes like three or four guns fired together, and so heavy that they shook the ship, as they did also the houses in Fort Rotterdam. Some of them seemed so near, that I sent people to the mast-head to look out for the flashes, and weighed at day-dawn, proceeding to the southward to ascertain the cause. The morning of the 12th was extremely dark and lowering, particularly to the southward, and S.W., the wind light, and from the eastward. At eight A.M. it was apparent that some extraordinary occurrence had taken place; the face of the heavens to the southward and westward had assumed a dark aspect, and it was much darker than before the sun rose; as it came nearer it assumed a dusky red appearance, and spread fast over every part of the heavens; by ten it was so dark that a ship could hardly be seen a mile distant; by eleven the whole of the heavens were obscured, except a small space near the horizon to the eastward, the quarter from which the wind came. The ashes now began to fall in showers, and the appearance was altogether truly awful and alarming. By noon the light that had remained in the eastern part of the horizon dis-

appeared, and complete darkness covered the face of day. This continued so profound during the remainder of the day, that I never saw any thing to equal it in the darkest night; it was impossible to see your hand when held up close to your eyes. The ashes fell without intermission throughout the night, and were so light and subtile, that notwithstanding the precaution of spreading awnings fore and aft as much as possible, they pervaded every part of the ship.

“ ‘ At six o'clock the next morning it continued as dark as ever, but began to clear about half-past seven; and about eight o'clock objects could be faintly discerned upon deck. From this time it began to get lighter very fast.

“ ‘ The appearance of the ship when day-light returned was most singular; every part being covered with the falling matter: it had the appearance of calcined pumice-stone, nearly the colour of wood-ashes; it lay in heaps of a foot in depth in many parts of the deck, and several tons weight of it must have been thrown overboard; for though an impalpable powder or dust when it fell, it was, when compressed, of considerable weight; a pint measure of it weighed twelve ounces and three-quarters: it was perfectly tasteless, and did not affect the eyes with painful sensation, had a faint burnt smell, but nothing like sulphur: when mixed with water it formed a tenacious mud difficult to be washed off.

“ ‘ By noon of the 12th, the sun made his appearance

again, but very faintly, through the dusky atmosphere ; the air being still charged with ashes, which continued to fall lightly all day.

“ ‘ From the 12th to the 15th the atmosphere remained thick and dusky, the rays of the sun scarce able to penetrate through it, with little or no wind the whole time.

“ ‘ On the morning of the 13th left Macasar, and on the 18th made Sambawa. On approaching the coast, passed through great quantities of pumice-stone floating on the sea, which had at first strongly the appearance of shoals, so much so that I sent a boat to examine one, which, at the distance of less than a mile, I took for a dry sand-bank, upwards of three miles in length, with black rocks in several parts of it. It proved to be a complete mass of pumice-stone floating on the sea, some inches in depth, with great numbers of trees and logs, that appeared to be burnt and shivered as if by lightning. The boat had much difficulty in pulling through it ; and until we reached the entrance of Bima Bay, the sea was literally covered with shoals of pumice and floating timber.

“ ‘ On the 19th arrived in Bima Bay : in coming to an anchor grounded on the bank of Bima Town, shoaling suddenly from eight fathoms ; hove off again as the tide was rising. The anchorage at Bima must have altered considerably, as where we grounded the Ternate cruizer lay at anchor in six fathoms a few months before. The shores of the bay had a most dreary appearance, being entirely covered with ashes.’

“ From the account of the Resident of Bima, it appears that the eruption proceeded from the Tomboro Mountain, situated about forty miles to the westward of Bima. On the night of the 11th, he represents the explosions to have been most terrific, and compares them to the report of a heavy mortar close to his ear. The darkness commenced about seven in the morning, and continued twelve hours longer than it did at Macasar. The fall of ashes was so heavy as to break the Resident’s house in many places, and render it uninhabitable, as well as many other houses in the town. The wind was still during the whole time, but the sea greatly agitated, its waves rolled in upon the shore, and filled the lower parts of the houses with water a foot deep. Every prow and boat was forced from the anchorage and driven on shore, and several large prows are now lying a considerable distance above high-water-mark.

“ ‘ On the 22d, the Dispatch, country ship, arrived in the bay from Amboyna. It appears that this vessel had mistaken a bay to the westward, called Sanpo or Sangin Bay, for Bina, and had gone into it: the Rajah of this place informed the officer that the whole of the country was entirely desolated, and the crops destroyed. The town of Sangin is situated about four or five leagues to the S. E. of the Tomboro Mountain. The officer found great difficulty in landing in the bay, a considerable distance from the shore being completely filled up with pumice-stones, ashes, and logs of timber: the houses appeared beaten down and covered with ashes.

“ ‘ Understanding that messengers had been sent into the interior, I waited till the evening of the 22nd, and as they had not then returned, owing, as was supposed, to having found the country impassable, I left the bay at eleven o'clock that night, and the next day was off the Tomboro Mountain: in passing it at the distance of six miles the summit was not visible, being enveloped in clouds of smoke and ashes. The sides were smoking in several places, apparently from lava which had flown down them not being cooled; several streams had reached the sea; a very considerable one to the N.N.W. of the mountain, the course of which was plainly discernible, both from the black colour of the lava contrasted with the ashes on each side of it, and the smoke arising from every part of it. The Tomboro Mountain, in a direct line from Macasar, is about 217 nautical miles distance.’

“ It has been ascertained that these eruptions of the Tomboro Mountain were heard through the whole chain of the Molucca Islands. The Honourable Company's cruizer *Teignmouth* was lying at anchor at Ternate on the 5th April; between six and eight P.M., several very distinct reports like heavy cannon were heard in the S.W. quarter, which was supposed to be a ship in the offing, in consequence of which the Resident sent a boat round the island to ascertain if it was so. The next morning, however, the boat returned without seeing any vessel in the offing; and the conclusion then drawn was that it might be occasioned by the bursting of some volcanic moun-

tain in that quarter. Ternate Island  $5^{\circ} 0' N.$   $127^{\circ} 30' E.$

“ The easterly monsoon, however, had at this time distinctly set in, and consequently the sounds would not be heard so loudly and distinctly in the Moluccas, as from the relative distance would otherwise have happened. They extended, in the opposite direction, to Fort Marlbro’, and several parts of Sumatra, as appears from the following extract from thence:—

“ ‘ It is an extraordinary fact, that precisely the same noise (taken by all who heard it to be a cannonade) occurred at several stations along this coast at the same time, viz., the morning of the 11th April: several gentlemen heard it in Marlbro’, the people from the interior came down with accounts of it, and those from the higher Dusuns spoke of a kind of ash-dust which had covered the herbage and the leaves of the trees. Reports to the same effect (not mentioning any fall of ashes, however,) were received from Moco-moco, Laye, Salumah, Manna, Padang Guchee, Croee, and Semanka. From some of these stations the hill-people came down armed, to assist against attacks which they imagined might be made upon the head factories.’

“ It has not appeared that any noise of this kind was heard at Padang, or much farther north than Moco-moco. I have since been told that the same noise was heard at Trumon in about  $2^{\circ} 40' N.$  lat., and at Ayer Bungi in about  $0^{\circ} 15' N.$  lat.. on or about the 11th April last.



“ From Sumbawa to the port of Sumatra, where the sound was noticed, is about 970 geographical miles in a direct line; from Sumbawa to Ternate is a distance of 720 miles; and the existence of the S. E. monsoon at the time may account for the difference of distance to which the sound was heard in the westerly and easterly directions: the distance, also, to which the cloud of ashes was carried, so thickly as to produce utter darkness, is clearly pointed out to have been the island of Celebes, and the districts of Gresie on Java. The former is 217 nautical miles distant from the seat of the volcano—the latter in a direct line more than 300 geographical miles distant.

“ I shall conclude this account with an extract of a letter from Lieutenant Owen Phillips, written from Bima on the 23rd ultimo. It has been mentioned in a former part, that on receiving intelligence of the extreme distress that had been occasioned by this extraordinary event, I dispatched a supply of rice to their relief, and Lieutenant Phillips was desired to proceed and adjust the delivery thereof, with instructions, at the same time, to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the local effects of the volcano. His report is as follows:—

“ ‘ On my trip towards the western part of the island, I passed through nearly the whole of Dampo, and a considerable part of Bima. The extreme misery to which the inhabitants have been reduced is shocking to behold: there were still on the road-side the remains of several corpses, and the marks of where many others had been

interred; the villages almost entirely deserted, and the houses fallen down, the surviving inhabitants having dispersed in search of food.

“ ‘ In Dampo, the sole subsistence of the inhabitants for some time past has been the heads of the different species of palm, and the stalks of the papaya and plantain.

“ ‘ Since the eruption, a violent diarrhœa has prevailed in Bina, Dampo, and Saugar, which has carried off a great number of people. It is supposed by the natives to have been caused by drinking water which has been impregnated with the ashes; and horses have also died, in great numbers, from a similar complaint.

“ ‘ The Rajah of Saugar came to wait on me at Dampo on the 3rd inst. The sufferings of the people there appear, from his account, to be still greater than in Dampo. The famine has been so severe, that even one of his own daughters died from hunger. I presented him with three coyangs of rice in your name, for which he appeared to be truly grateful.

“ ‘ As the Rajah was himself a spectator of the late eruption, the following account which he gave me, is, perhaps, more to be depended upon than any other I can possibly obtain:—

“ ‘ About seven P.M., on the 10th of April, three distinct columns of flame burst forth, near the top of Tomboro Mountain, all of them apparently within the verge of the crater; and after ascending separately to a very great

height, their tops united in the air in a troubled confused manner. In a short time the whole mountain next Saugar appeared like a body of liquid fire extending itself in every direction.

“ ‘ The fire and columns of flame continued to rage with unabated fury, until the darkness caused by the quantity of falling matter obscured it at about eight P.M. Stones at this time fell very thick at Saugar; some of them as large as two fists, but generally not larger than walnuts. Between nine and ten P.M. ashes began to fall; and soon after a violent whirlwind ensued, which blew down nearly every house in the village of Saugar, carrying the tops and light parts along with it. In the part of Saugar adjoining Tomboro, its effects were much more violent, tearing up by the roots the largest trees, and carrying them into the air, together with men, houses, cattle, and whatever else came within its influence—(this will account for the immense number of floating trees seen at sea). The sea rose nearly twelve feet higher than it had ever been known to be before, and completely spoiled the only small spots of rice-lands in Saugar, sweeping away houses and every thing within its reach.

“ ‘ The whirlwind lasted about an hour. No explosions were heard till the whirlwind had ceased, at about eleven A.M. From midnight till the evening of the 11th they continued without intermission; after that, their violence moderated, and they were only heard at intervals; but the explosions did not cease entirely until the 15th of

July. The mountain still throws out immense volumes of smoke, and the natives are apprehensive of another eruption during the ensuing rainy season.

“ ‘ Of the whole of the villages of Tomboro, Jempo, containing about forty inhabitants, is the only one remaining. In Precate, no vestige of a house is left. Twenty-six of the people who were at Sambawa at the time are the whole of the population who have escaped.

“ ‘ From the most particular inquiries I have been able to make, there were certainly not fewer than 12,000 individuals in Tomboro and Precate at the time of the eruption.

“ ‘ The trees and herbage of every description along the whole of the north and west sides of the Peninsula have been completely destroyed, with the exception of a high point of land near the spot where the village of Tomboro stood; on it a few trees still remain. In the night of the eruption, two men and two women, I am informed, escaped to this point, and were saved. I have sent in search of them, but have not yet been able to get hold of them; no person has yet been along the eastern side of the hill.

“ ‘ A messenger who returned yesterday from Sambawa relates that the fall of ashes has been heavier at Sambawa than on this side the Gulf, and that an immense number of people have been starved: they are now parting with their horses and buffaloes for a half or quarter rupee's worth of rice or corn. The distress has, however,

I trust, been alleviated by this time, as the brig, with sixty-three coyangs of rice, from Java, arrived there the day he was leaving it.' ”

“ *Batavia, September 28, 1815.* ”

TO MR. MARSDEN.

“ *Buitenzorg, Aug. 6, 1815.* ”

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I have only time to thank you for your very kind letter by Captain Travers, and to return you my grateful acknowledgments for the warm and steady support which you have given to my cause. *Magna est veritas et prævalebit.*

“ A severe domestic affliction has banished for a time the hope I once entertained of an early retirement—activity and the cares of public responsibility are now almost necessary for my existence. I trust, however, that a few months more will restore that serenity of mind which will admit of my looking on the past with calmness. You will see that although I do not like to stand in the way of the arrangement I have suggested for the government of this island and its dependencies, I am by no means indifferent or disinclined to act, and to continue to act in any capacity in which my employment may not injure the public interests.

“ I entreat of you to advocate the cause of Java, if there is a possibility of its remaining under the British protection.”

TO W. B. RAMSAY, ESQ. FROM MR. RAFFLES.

*“ Buitenzorg, Aug. 5th, 1815.*

\* \* \* \* \*

“ I have no idea of returning to Europe while any thing is to be done hereabout. I am really too tired to write you fully; my back aches from sheer hard writing for the two last days.

“ Pay a little attention to my dear sister Marianne, and her child, when you can. I am glad Flint has come out again.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ I should wish to remain in the country until a decision on this reference was known, until time had been given to my successor in office to appreciate and report on the character of my administration, and until a sufficient lapse occurred in Europe between the effects of the stigma passed on my conduct, and the change of opinion which a subsequent better knowledge of the true state of things must occasion.”

The following is an extract of a letter to the Earl of Buckinghamshire:—

“ These Islands, my Lord, are doubtless the real *Ta-probana* of the ancients—the sacred isles of the Hindus!

“ Who that has mixed with the East insular tribes, who that has become in the least acquainted with their ways of thinking, that will not bear ample testimony that

their character is as yet unknown to Europe? Even their piracy and deadly creeses which have proved such fertile sources of abuse and calumny, have nothing in them to affright; nay, there is something even to admire in them—their piracies are but a proof of their spirit and their enterprize, and the regulation of good government is alone wanting to direct this spirit and this enterprize in a course more consonant with our notions of civilization. And now, may I ask what was the state of Scotland two hundred years ago? In the last prints from Europe I observed the particulars of the trial of some unfortunate people of these islands, who were subsequently executed for attempting to cut off the ship, Governor Raffles, on her voyage to England. No doubt a general horror was excited by the atrocity of their conduct; but if it is considered that these men were in all probability cajoled on board the ship in the expectation of her going only a short voyage, and within their own latitudes, some allowance may be made for their feelings when they found themselves deceived, and hurried into a cold, tempestuous, and bitter climate, of which, judging from their own seas, they could have formed no previous conception. Suffering under the acuteness of bodily pain and mental anguish, thinking on their families and their homes, which they were daily leaving farther behind, perhaps never to visit again, and seeing no end to the increase of their miseries—may not some allowance be made for them? I am far from wishing to insinuate discredit or censure on

the parties connected with this particular instance. I doubt not that every thing was done that could be done by the owners and captain; but I know that, generally speaking, such is the way that sailors in this country are procured for long voyages. If even they were apprised of the length of their voyage, and promised payment accordingly, will not their case, in some degree, resemble that of the first adventurers to the new world? The creeses is to the Malay what the practice of duelling is to European nations. There are certain points in the composition of every man's notions which cannot be regulated by courts of law; the property, the life, the character of the European is protected by law; but yet there are some points, and these are the very points on which all society hinges, which are not protected. In support of these he contemns the law which stigmatizes him as a murderer, and the very men who made the laws still say he is right. Neither the property, the life, nor the character of the Malay is secured by law—he proudly defends them with his own hand whenever they are endangered. The readiness with which an injury is thus redressed has a wonderful effect in the prevention of injuries; and except in warlike enterprize the Malay is seldom known to draw his criss, unless perhaps in defence of what he considers his *honour*. The certainty of resentment has produced that urbanity and consideration for the feelings of each other, that they are habitually well-bred, and if they are to be termed savages, certainly they are the most polite of all



savages; but in truth they are very far from being savages.”

It is evident from what has been stated, that during the whole period of his administration, Mr. Raffles had constantly been occupied with the varied and extensive duties of his situation, which had required from him incessant labour and attention; every thing, in fact, rested upon himself. He was unacquainted, or but slightly acquainted, with the principles or characters of most of those whom he had to employ; he was compelled to instruct, direct, and confide in all; and these, untried and unknown, were to be surrounded by temptations and examples of speculation, bribery, and corruption. It is to the honour of the individuals so employed and so chosen, that, under all succeeding circumstances, so few were found to fail in their duty, and so many proved themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in them.

Mr. Raffles was occupied constantly from four in the morning until eleven and twelve at night; and the weight of this heavy duty was much increased by his being under the necessity of acting entirely upon his own responsibility in all the great measures of his government.

Such a state of anxious uncertainty would have made a less conscientious person refrain from such constant and unremitting action; but it was one of his principles in public as well as private life, to do good to the utmost of his power; and in the accomplishment of this object, no

labour was too severe, no responsibility too burdensome to be borne.

The deep interest which Mr. Raffles took in the happiness of the Javanese induced him to exert every faculty of his mind to instruct and improve them; and this was to him comparatively easy, even in the pressure of all the more direct and ordinary business of his station; he was gifted with a power of such rapid decision, his discrimination was so clear, and his arrangements so immediate and perfect, that he was able to effect more business, of every kind, than any single person of those around him could have thought possible. It is stated by some of those who were in the habit of observing him at this time, that they have seen him write upwards of twenty sheets of minutes, orders, &c. &c. without any correction or even alteration being necessary. It has already been stated, that he required three clerks to copy and keep up with what he wrote; and that he frequently dictated to two persons whilst engaged in writing letters himself.

TO WILLIAM BROWN RAMSAY, ESQ.

*“Buitenzorg, October 18, 1815.*

\* \* \* \* \*

“You will be anxious to know my determination as to proceeding to England; my character—my future happiness—require my presence in England. The impression on my mind is, that I shall quit this country at the close

of 1816; but this depends upon circumstances not within my control. I may go earlier—I may go later. Your advice will, I think, be for the best, and I am inclined to concur in it: for here I am ‘a lonely man, like one that has long since been dead;’ and should any thing keep me away for one year, from friends who I am sure would be glad to receive me with open arms! . . . I want leisure to recover from the effects of that weight of responsibility which has almost weighed me down; yet I am high and proud in my own integrity. I thank you for the warmth and attachment which breathe through every line of your letter now before me; it has roused the finest feelings in my breast; and in the test of friendship, where is the heart that would not be glad?”

Before leaving Java, Mr. Raffles addressed the following letter to the Court of Directors:

“*Batavia, March 11, 1816.*”

“At the close of an arduous and extensive administration, which will be admitted to have commenced at a moment of peculiar financial difficulty, and to have been attended with embarrassments unusual to a new government, in consequence of the bankruptcy of the preceding government, and of a necessity having nevertheless existed of respecting, in some degree, the forced and imperious measures to which that government resorted, in order to carry on their ordinary details; I am anxious to place in

your possession a view of the present financial state of this colony. This review I shall found, not on estimates, but on actual records ; and I confidently trust it will prove to the satisfaction of your Honourable Court, that my ideas on the value and importance of this colony have not been raised too high, but that time only was wanting, and a perseverance in principles of liberal and extended policy, to render it equal to all the extent that has either been contemplated or reported.

“ I shall not detain your Honourable Court by any review of the past financial arrangements adopted at different periods of my administration. The opinions which have been passed upon them by the Supreme Government in India, and the explanations which we considered ourselves enabled to offer, are already before your Honourable Court ; and my letter of the 5th of August, 1815, will have explained the foundation of our present revenue and resources, and prepare you to expect that the general result would be more favourable, since the system of administration which it has been my object to introduce into this island, in accordance with the principles laid down by the late Earl of Minto, began to have effect.

“ I now request to lay before you further documents, illustrative of the progressive improvement that has taken place.”

## CHAPTER IX.

*Mr. Raffles hears he is to be relieved in the Government—Residency of Bencoolen secured to him—Forced to return to England by ill health—Arrival of Mr. Fendall—Reception of him—General regret at Mr. Raffles' departure—Presentation of plate—Endeavours by a last memorial to secure justice to the native princes and people—The objects of their treaties with the English—Objects neglected by the English Government—Island restored without conditions to the Dutch—Embarkation—State of mind on quitting Java—Extract from Captain Travers' Journal during the voyage—St. Helena—Interview with Buonaparte—Arrival at Falmouth—Mines in Cornwall—Journey to London.*

MR. RAFFLES was at Ciceroa when he heard that he was to be relieved from the charge of the government. Though the mode in which the intelligence was conveyed was most unexpected, it did not affect his equanimity and composure.

Lord Minto had secured to him the Residency of Bencoolen, as a provision in case Java had been transferred to the Crown, when of course a Governor and Council would have been sent out from England. This appointment was now offered to him, but his health was so impaired, his strength so exhausted, that his medical advisers considered it absolutely necessary for the preservation of his life, that he should proceed to Europe without delay.

As soon as it was ascertained that Mr. Fendall was appointed to succeed to the government, and was actually on his way to Java, Mr. Raffles determined to leave Ciceroa, and return to Buitenzorg, in order to be ready at the shortest notice to proceed to Batavia for the purpose of receiving his successor. He felt himself aggrieved, but he well knew his being so was in no way attributable to Mr. Fendall; and he wished to pay the respect and attention which he thought due to the station that Mr. Fendall was about to fill. Mr. Raffles was alarmingly reduced at this time by the joint action of illness, and of the violent remedies which had been applied; but his spirits rose superior to his bodily strength, and he could not be persuaded to allow any personal consideration to interfere with a public arrangement. He exacted little himself, but he was most scrupulous in his attention to others. Accordingly, the moment the report reached Buitenzorg, that Mr. Fendall had arrived in Batavia Roads, Mr. Raffles was ready to proceed; and although he had been confined to the house for several days before, he left Buitenzorg at three o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Ryswick in time to make the necessary arrangements for receiving the new Governor with suitable honors.

Mr. Raffles introduced Mr. Fendall to all those who had been useful whilst employed under his government, with some private recommendatory tribute of praise, or some public acknowledgment of their merits. The scene

was an interesting one, from the total absence of all selfish consideration which marked Mr. Raffles' conduct; he was entirely absorbed in the desire of promoting the welfare of others, and if possible, securing to them any advantages which they might have derived from his presence. The exertion, however, as may be supposed, was too great for him in his debilitated state, and at the close of the day he was obliged to retire. Having previously made every arrangement, he quitted the Government-house in the evening for Mr. Cransen's, where he remained until his embarkation. When it became generally known that Mr. Raffles was obliged to proceed to England as the only hope of preserving his life, the European and native inhabitants united in expressing their deep regret at his departure, and in acknowledging in the warmest terms their gratitude for the benefits which he had conferred upon them during his administration. A magnificent service of plate was given to him by them on his arrival in England; and his own immediate staff, besides uniting in this noble gift, presented him with a separate and exclusive piece of plate, as a testimony of their affection and gratitude for the kindness which he had shown to them, and the interest that he had taken in their welfare.

The delay preparatory to embarkation gave Mr. Fendall an opportunity of looking into the public proceedings, and of forming an opinion on the principal acts of the government. He frankly avowed his approbation of them all; and without one alteration continued Mr. Raffles'

personal staff in their former situations, and expressed his determination to attend to all Mr. Raffles' wishes.

Mr. Raffles did not depart from Java without making an effort to induce those who succeeded him to secure justice to the people whom he was leaving. But unfortunately his appeal in behalf of those for whose welfare he had so anxiously laboured, was not attended to; and the Island was transferred to the Dutch without one stipulation in favour of the natives, who had in justice a right to expect that some provisions would have been made for their interests. The events which followed the re-occupation of the Island by the Dutch afford a melancholy proof of the sad effects of this neglect.

Mr. Raffles engaged his passage in the Ganges, a fine vessel in Batavia Roads, at that time preparing for England. Lieutenant-Colonel, then Captain Garnham, Captain Travers (two of his Aides-de-camp) and Sir Thomas Sevestre, his medical attendant, with all the disinterestedness of devoted zeal and friendship, determined to accompany him. The natives and Europeans, Dutch as well as English, evinced a strong feeling of interest and regret. The inhabitants had experienced, from his administration, benefits which were fresh in their memory; the welfare of all had been watched with a parental solicitude; and perhaps no conquered country had ever been so quickly restored to tranquillity, or so strictly preserved in quietness and good order as Java, during the period of British rule. There were also many amongst the



respectable Dutch inhabitants who attributed, and perhaps with justice, to Mr. Raffles, the line of conduct adopted by Lord Minto on the first capture of the Island.

If, in addition to this, it is remembered how warmly he devoted himself to the improvement of the people, the information which he collected on every point connected with the Island, the total ignorance that previously prevailed, the assistance which he rendered to literature, the zeal with which he promoted all objects of science, it will be no matter of surprise that he established a name and character which will not be soon forgotten in the Island of Java.

On the morning of Mr. Raffles' embarkation, the Roads of Batavia were filled with boats, crowded with people of various nations, all anxious to pay the last tribute of respect within their power to one for whom they entertained the most lively affection. On reaching the vessel, he found the decks filled with offerings of every description — fruits, flowers, poultry, whatever they thought would promote his comfort on the voyage. It is impossible to describe the scene which took place when the order was given to weigh anchor; the people felt that they had lost the greatest friend whom Java ever possessed; and perhaps they anticipated, as too near, their redelivery to the Dutch power, and the consequently too probable revival of the scenes of misgovernment, from which, under the administration of Mr. Raffles, they had

been relieved for five years, and ought to have been relieved for ever.

The following extract of a letter to Mr. Edmonstone at this time will show the temper of mind in which Mr. Raffles relinquished his authority.

TO N. B. EDMONSTONE, ESQ. (*then one of the members of Supreme Council in Bengal, and now one of the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company.*)

*“ On board the Ganges, off Bantam, March 26, 1816.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I cannot quit Java without returning you my warmest acknowledgments for the consideration which you have always evinced for me, and in particular for the kindness and protection with which I am confident you have endeavoured to shield my public as well as my private character, in discussions in which both have been most violently and wantonly attacked.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ I leave the character of my administration in general to be appreciated by my successor; and I look forward with confidence to a period when it will be proved that I have not been found wanting in the discharge of the high, arduous, and responsible trust committed to my care.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ My public letter will inform you of the necessity which drives me to the Cape, and eventually to Europe;

and unfortunate as this unexpected circumstance must be considered, I must hope that the necessity of proceeding to Europe, and of consequently giving up a lucrative employment, occasioned as it is by an illness brought on by great exertions, by anxiety, and a sense of injustice, will not weaken any claims which I may possess on the consideration and justice of the higher authorities.

“ Into the hands of Mr. Fendall I have resigned my charge without reluctance.” \* \* \*

An extract from Captain Travers' Journal will give an account of the voyage:—

“ Our voyage commenced under the most favourable circumstances; the weather was mild, the wind fair. On the third day after leaving Batavia Roads, being entrusted with the address to Mr. Raffles from his own immediate staff, to present to him after our getting out to sea, I waited upon him in his cabin with it; and the scene which ensued was the most distressing I had ever witnessed. After perusing it, he became so completely overcome as to be unable to utter a word: but the moment he began to recover a little, he took up his pen; and whilst the feeling and impression was fresh, he wrote the beautiful and affectionately-expressed reply, which was afterwards printed by his friends, and is attached to the addresses and replies presented on the occasion of his leaving Java.

“ The presentation of this address was altogether unexpected on Mr. Raffles' part; and as it was meant to

convey to him the sentiments of cordial and heartfelt esteem and affection of those who had the best opportunity of judging of the spotless integrity and amiable qualities which shed a lustre over his private life, as well as the purity and uprightness of his public conduct, it was but natural to suppose that such a testimonial must have been most gratifying at such a moment, and he certainly prized it very highly.

“ As we proceeded on our voyage the change of climate and the pure sea air seemed to be of great service to Mr. Raffles, whose general state of health began visibly to improve. He employed his time on board ship chiefly in assorting his papers, for the first part; and until his health began to get better, he read for amusement, and paid strict attention to medical advice, and no doubt derived much benefit from so doing.

“ As we approached St. Helena, Mr. Raffles expressed much anxiety to touch there, in the hope of seeing Buonaparte; and Captain Falconer, ever ready to meet the wishes of one for whom he seemed to entertain the highest respect and esteem, determined on going there for the avowed purpose of taking in a fresh supply of water, and we accordingly made the island at three o'clock A.M., on the 18th May, 1816; and meeting with no opposition, notwithstanding our having heard of vessels being stationed to windward, as well as leeward, of the island, to speak all vessels as they approached, we stood in, and actually came close to one of the batteries before we were

discovered ; but immediately on being seen we were brought to, and soon after a boat came off from the Admiral's ship to take charge of the Ganges, inquire into our wants, and communicate by signal with the flag-ship.

“ At this moment all our hopes of seeing Buonaparte, or indeed of being permitted to land, were destroyed, by the naval officers who came on board informing us that we would not be allowed to land ; and as our vessel could be quickly watered from the flag-ship, no communication with the shore would be allowed.

“ The disappointment occasioned by this intelligence I never can forget. After so long a voyage, to come within the reach of shore, and not to be allowed to land, appeared to us, at the moment, to be one of the most disappointing and vexatious occurrences in our lives.

“ Mr. Raffles, who shared with us all our disappointment, but with more command of himself, endeavoured to reconcile us to our fate ; and in place of looking from the deck at a spot which we could not reach, and the sight of which would only tend to excite our chagrin and annoyance, suggested that we should retire to our cabins, and commit to paper our feelings at the moment, which would amuse us during our detention. To this we all assented ; but I believe the only person of the party, who was sufficiently collected to write any thing appropriate, was Mr. Raffles himself ; all the rest entertained a hope that permission would be granted to land, when the Admiral knew who was on board, and I had written to

the Secretary by the Lieutenant who had come from the flag-ship.

“ In this we were not mistaken, as, in a very short time after the Lieutenant left us, a signal was made from the flag-ship to anchor in a particular place, and this was quickly followed by Colonel Mansel, of the 53rd, and Captain Le Blanc coming on board, with permission from the Admiral to land.

“ When the boat was close to the Ganges, I went into Mr. Raffles' cabin to inform him of the circumstance, and was just in time to save the following verses from destruction, which he had written as quickly as it was possible to write, and had not read it over, or corrected a word ;—on my telling him that we should certainly be allowed to land, he was just going to destroy the paper, when I entreated him to allow me to read it, with which he complied, and I immediately copied it *verbatim*, as it was written, and returned the original ; but know not whether Mr. Raffles ever looked at it again, nor did I ever see it afterwards.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ On our landing, we were most kindly received by the Admiral, Sir George Cockburn, who requested us to call at the town-major's and peruse the garrison orders, to which he directed our particular attention. After which we paid our respects to the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, who invited us to dinner, and promised to send horses for us. We then solicited permission to visit Buonaparte,

which was granted, on condition that during our interview we were not to address him as Emperor, but simply as General, and in the event of our being received by Buonaparte with his hat on, we were not to continue in conversation uncovered; to all which we willingly assented, and after passing a very pleasant evening at the Government-house, we commenced our journey to visit Buonaparte immediately after breakfast in the morning. Our first object was to see Marshal Bertrand, whom we found in a miserably poor habitation, together with his charming Countess. The Marshal received us with the easy air of a well-bred gentleman, and the Countess with great affability and good humour, contrasting her present abode with that which she lately occupied in France.

“ The Marshal seemed to feel anxious that we should not be disappointed in the object of our visit, but expressed some fears, in consequence of his royal master having signified his intention not to receive any visitors for some days; he, however, kindly offered us letters to Count Las Casas, entreating him to use every exertion to obtain an interview for us. With this letter we proceeded to Longwood, and were most kindly and politely received by Count Las Casas, with whom we enjoyed some very agreeable conversation.

“ On our informing him that we were to leave the island in the evening, he seemed anxious that his royal master should see us, and he left us for a short time, and on returning informed us that the Emperor would dress

in an hour, and although he could not say for a certainty, yet he hoped, and thought, he would see us. With this we took our leave and went to Dead Wood, about a mile distant, where the 53rd regiment were stationed. Whilst we were taking refreshment with Colonel Mansel, Mr. Raffles received a note from Count Las Casas, saying that the Emperor would see us, and we accordingly returned to Longwood; where, before being introduced, we found this once great man in earnest conversation with Countess Bertrand, who was walking with him in the garden; General Gourgaud preceded, Marshal Bertrand, Count Las Casas, Captain Poniatowsky, and a page followed, all uncovered. On our arrival being announced, we were quickly informed that the Emperor would receive us in the garden; and Count Las Casas added, that although it had been the Emperor's intention not to see any person for some days, yet on being told that it was Mr. Raffles, late Governor of Java, who wished the interview, he immediately consented to see us.

“On our approaching, Napoleon turned quickly round to receive us, and taking off his hat, put it under his arm. His reception was not only not dignified or graceful, but absolutely vulgar and authoritative. He put a series of questions to Mr. Raffles in such quick succession, as to render it impossible to reply to one before another was put. His first request was to have Mr. Raffles' name pronounced distinctly. He then asked him in what country he was born? how long he had been in India? whether



he had accompanied the expedition against the Island of Java? who commanded? and on being told Sir Samuel Achmuty, he seemed to recollect his name, and made some observations to Las Casas respecting him. He was particular in asking the extent of force, and the regiments employed, and then enquired if Mr. Raffles delivered up the Island to the Dutch, or was relieved by another Governor. He appeared to be acquainted with the value and importance of the Island, but put some strange questions to Mr. Raffles, such as how the King of Java conducted himself. On Mr. Raffles explaining, he seemed most attentive, and then asked whether the spice plantations at Amboyna were doing well, and whether the Spice Islands were to be also restored to the Dutch. He then asked the name of the ship in which we were going home, with what cargo laden, and which was best, Bourbon or Java coffee; all these questions were put with great rapidity, and before replied to he turned round to Captain Garnham and myself, asked our names, and what service we had seen; whether we were ever wounded, or ever taken prisoners; how long we had been in India, and several other similar questions. He then again addressed himself to Mr. Raffles, and seemed interested with his remarks on Java. He conversed with Sir Thomas Sevestre, and put similar questions to him with those he had put to Garnham and myself. On his making a slight inclination of the head, we prepared to take our leave, and on our making our bow we parted, Napoleon continuing his walk.

and we returning to the house. During the whole time of our interview, as Napoleon remained uncovered, common politeness obliged us to keep our hats in our hands; and at no time was it found necessary to give him any title, either of General or Emperor.

“Las Casas returned with us to the house, where a cold collation was prepared. He was most polite and attentive, and seemed much pleased with Mr. Raffles, with whom he conversed most freely. Of Napoleon he spoke in terms of the highest possible praise, and seemed to lament most bitterly his present situation.

“After our interview with Bonaparte, we made all possible haste to get on board the ship; and as we descended from Plantation-house were much surprised to see the Ganges was under-weigh; but, on reaching the beach, we found that the Admiral, Sir George Cockburn, on ordering the vessel to get under-weigh, had kindly sent his own barge to attend Mr. Raffles, and take his party to the ship, which we did not reach till dusk. We immediately proceeded on our voyage, delighted at our visit to St. Helena, which afforded a fine subject for conversation for many days afterwards

“Our weather was delightful, although the winds were light and baffling, and so much retarded our progress that we did not make the Island of Ascension for six days after leaving St. Helena, which is considered a long passage.

“We did not, as is customary, send a boat on shore for

turtle, as the wind springing up favourable we did not wish to lose a moment, and so proceeded on our voyage, and soon began to experience the benefit of a fine brisk trade-wind, which swept us along most pleasantly, at the same time at a most rapid rate.

“ With the return of health Mr. Raffles’ spirits greatly improved. He used often to amuse us with translations of different papers connected with the ancient history of Java, and would often read aloud for us in the evening. In conversation he was fond of alluding to, and explaining, the several acts of his administration in Java, which he thought would ultimately tend much to the improvement of the Island, and the amelioration of the condition of the Javanese, whom he always seemed to feel a great interest for. In these conversations he never spoke with severity or harshness of those whom he knew to be the cause of his removal from a government which established for the British name a character and credit in the Eastern Seas which will ever be respected and revered. He seldom touched upon the annoying circumstances of his supercession, except to express a hope that justice, however late, would not be altogether denied to him; and he felt convinced that on being heard at home all possible amends would be made him by the Court of Directors.

“ In this most agreeable way we continued our voyage without interruption or annoyance of any kind till the 17th of June, when a most extraordinary circumstance occurred. The *Auspicious*, a country ship, laden like ourselves with

coffee, and bound from Batavia to London, which had been keeping company with us from the day of sailing, was close alongside the Ganges within speaking distance in the evening, when, the breeze increasing, the Auspicious went a little a-head. The night was fine and bright, and we all remained on deck longer than usual, enjoying it, and admiring the brisk rate at which both vessels were going, each having royals, and as much sail as they could carry. About three o'clock we were alarmed at hearing a shot from the Auspicious, and on looking towards her it would be impossible to describe our dismay and surprise at finding that she had lost her three topmasts, fore, main, and mizen, and seemed a perfect wreck. As morning dawned, and we could discern more distinctly, nothing could look more miserable than she did; how strikingly different from what she was the preceding evening, when with swelling sail she seemed to cut the waves, whilst now, a perfect wreck, she lay completely at their mercy.

“To account for this sudden squall injuring the Auspicious so very much, and not reaching the Ganges, only a few hundred yards distant, was more than any one on board either vessel could do. The sailors called it a white squall, desperate for the moment, but of short duration. During the night, on board the Ganges, we had not experienced the slightest increase of breeze, nor was there the appearance of a squall observed by any one on board; and all remarked that we had not passed a smoother or more tranquil night during our voyage. We remained with the

Auspicious for a day or two, to render all assistance in our power ; and it is astonishing how soon she repaired her injuries and became fit to join company again. We made all sail on the third day after the accident, and then proceeded with fair weather and favourable winds.

“ The 6th of July was Mr. Raffles’ birth-day, when he had completed his thirty-fifth year ; and the weather being mild and favourable, Captain Falconer invited our *compagnon de voyage*, Captain Nash, to dine on board the Ganges, and do honour to the day ; when we passed a most agreeable and happy one, delighted to see the health of him whose birth-day we were thus celebrating, holding forth such fair prospects of our being able to celebrate many such anniversaries. We drank toasts in bumpers, and made speeches without number, and concluded the day as we had commenced it, with rejoicings ; not a little increased, perhaps, by the prospect before us of so soon touching the blessed shores of old England once again, from whence we had been so long absent.”

The following is an extract of a letter to his friend Mr. W. B. Ramsay, written on the voyage :—

“ To be plain, I must tell you, my dear friend, that after suffering severely from an illness brought on in consequence of great anxiety and personal fatigue, I embarked on the 25th March last from Batavia, and am now looking out for the English coast. My party consists of three gentlemen and my family, among whom I have to reckon

your friend Travers, who, if not too lazy to write, ought to tell you a great deal more about the matter ; for myself, although I am considerably recovered, I yet remain wretchedly thin and sallow, with a jaundiced eye and shapeless leg. Yet, I thank God, my spirit is high and untamed, and the meeting of friends will, I hope, soon restore me to my usual health.

“ I return to you, however, a poor solitary wretch ; and the rocks of Albion, which under other circumstances would have met my eye with joy and gladness, will not now present themselves without reflections which I cannot dwell upon.

“ If the Alcione has arrived, you will have been apprized of the result of Lord Moira’s proceedings. His Lordship deemed it advisable to postpone any decision on Gillespie’s charges ; the Supreme Government, however, have declared my character unaffected by these charges, and further stated that they considered it but an act of justice to leave my reserve appointment to Bencoolen unshaken, this being the test by which the Court judge of my having explained my conduct satisfactorily. But the manner in which my removal from Java was effected, and the whole course of proceedings adopted towards me by the Governor-General has been such, that it was impossible for me to rest satisfied with this tardy and incomplete judgment. I therefore resolved to appeal to the authorities in England, and in the mean time quietly to go to Bencoolen : but the shock was too severe, my health had been undermined,

and this injustice threw me on my back. It was the opinion of the faculty that remaining longer in India was dangerous, and I took the resolution of proceeding to the Cape, and eventually to England.

“ My successor arrived on the 11th, and in thirteen days after I quitted Batavia, in the Ganges, leaving my appointment to Bencoolen untouched. It would appear to have been the opinion of Mr. Edmonstone, that the orders of the Court left a latitude for the Supreme Government to exert themselves in my favour ; but this opinion was overruled by the influence of Lord Moira. A struggle, however, was made, and I am left to hope that even in the proceedings of the Governor-General in Council I have found something like justice, and acknowledgment for my services recorded.

“ It is my intention to appeal most forcibly to the Court against the whole course of measures. I feel confident I shall obtain justice from them : this is all I shall ask for. I have a cause that will carry conviction. I am prepared for every member being prepossessed against me but I have documents with me that will prove that they have been imposed upon. I am prepared to prove that so far from having been a burden to the finances of Great Britain, that in the wind-up there is every chance of a surplus ; that in the affair of Patemoang I acted according to the principle laid down by the Governor-General in Council, and received the full and unreserved approval of the Governor-General in Council ; but this was while

Lord Minto was at the head of affairs. That in my land-revenue arrangements the rights of no one had been subverted, and the just rights of all have been placed on a footing more advantageous than was ever before felt by them. I come prepared to meet every one of my enemies, but with a determination to turn them into friends.

“ You will have to pay many a sixpence for this letter, yet I hope you will not grudge it, considering that it comes from one, who although he brings back with him from India but a sorry carcase, and wants the blazonments of power, returns with a heart and soul as purely and devotedly attached as it was on the day of parting; neither time, nor distance, nor the coldness of silence itself, which by the bye I have sometimes experienced, has quenched that flame in my breast which was once lighted by the torch of true and generous friendship; and it is with these feelings I still subscribe myself your devoted and affectionate friend,

“ T. S. R.

CONTINUATION OF EXTRACTS FROM CAPTAIN TRAVERS'  
JOURNAL.

“ On the 11th of July we made the Scilly Isles, the announcement of which soon brought all hands on deck. We quickly approached Falmouth, when several boats came off to take us on shore, all most exorbitant in their demands; and whilst I was arranging some reasonable bargain, Mr. Raffles agreed to go with the first man who



made the vessel, giving him his own terms, as a consideration for the exertions he made in coming to our assistance first. We quickly prepared for the boat, and were ready about noon, when we took our leave of Captain Falconer, but not without some expressions of what we felt, and ever would gratefully acknowledge, for his unremitting kindness and attention, his great hospitality, and liberal conduct, during the long time we were on board his ship. His anxiety to study the comforts, anticipate the wants, and in every possible way meet the wishes of Mr. Raffles, had at an early period of the voyage attracted our admiration; and his subsequent steady adherence thereto, added to his agreeable manners and accommodating disposition, had rendered him a favourite with all on board. Not a want was experienced by any during the voyage, and I believe no vessel ever yet made the trip from India to England under more happy or agreeable circumstances than the good ship *Ganges*.

“ On leaving the vessel, Captain Falconer, ever anxious to evince his high respect for Mr. Raffles, fired the salute due to his rank as a Governor, which was immediately repeated by one from the *Auspicious*, when both ships, although with native crews, gave us three hearty cheers, and I am very sure accompanied them with sincere good wishes, as we could distinctly hear, in passing the vessels, the terms of praise in which they were speaking of Mr. Raffles.

“ Our party in the boat consisted of Mr. Raffles, and his faithful servant Lewis, a native of Malacca, who had lived with him many years; Captain Garnham and myself, aides-de-camp; Sir Thomas Sevestre, who accompanied him as his medical attendant; a Mr. Graham, a passenger from Batavia, a gentleman well known to us all, of high respectability, who, during the time of Java being in our possession, had made a very large fortune by trading as a merchant in Batavia, and Ràden-Rana-Dipura, a Javanese Chief.

“ The day was beautiful, the sun shining bright, the sea smooth, being but little agitated by the gentle breezes. The land, as we approached, had to us the most delightful appearance, the fields looking so green, and the country so luxuriant: so that our trip from the ship, though long, was not tedious, but, on the contrary, most agreeable. We reached shore about four o'clock, when we were immediately examined by the custom-house officers; first, as to the state of our health, and next, whether there was any infection on board the ship, or at the port we had sailed from. These questions were easily answered, but methought the officer seemed rather doubtful as to the positive assurances our mouths were giving, in direct opposition to the strong evidence of our cheeks, which, with the exception of Captain Garnham's, were of the most pale and emaciated cast: however, we got through the examination, and were permitted to land, and afterwards had a hearty laugh on communicating to each other our

fears and apprehensions at the examination, which we were in no way prepared to meet or expect. We had not, however, yet done with examination, for we had no sooner landed than our baggage was taken to the Custom-house: but this took little time, as we had only a small trunk each, and nothing seizable about us, Mr. Raffles having strongly recommended us, and indeed given us the example himself, of putting every article, even of the smallest value, into the ship's manifest.

“ After these several delays we proceeded to the inn, where we ordered the best dinner procurable at the place, to be got ready as quickly as possible, and passed a most joyous, agreeable evening.

“ Having seen all we wished of Falmouth before dinner, we determined on going early to Truro next morning, and reached there to breakfast at nine, Mr. Raffles being anxious to avail himself of the opportunity, whilst in Cornwall, of viewing some of the mines, and inquiring into the nature of the ores, for the purpose of comparing them with the products of those which, under his directions, when in the government of Java, had been brought into full power and force at Banca.

“ Immediately after breakfast Mr. Raffles had an interview with a gentleman at Truro, who was well acquainted with mining business. He seemed a sensible, intelligent, well-informed gentleman, and afforded Mr. Raffles much useful and satisfactory information. After some delay at Truro, employed as I have mentioned, we proceeded to

Welbesy, distant from Truro about five miles, close to Chesswater, where we were informed one of the best copper-mines was to be seen, and here we were much pleased with all we saw. The gentleman to whom we had been introduced at Truro accompanied Mr. Raffles, with the view of rendering every assistance in his power, and was very kind and useful.

“ The appearance and working of this mine astonished us, and the wonderful power of the steam-engine was no less a novelty. Mr. Raffles, Captain Garnham, and Sir Thomas Sevestre went down, which I was afraid to do, not being very strong at the time ; but nothing could dissuade Mr. Raffles from descending, although, in his then delicate state of health, we were most anxious to prevent him from doing so ; but his reply was, that he never would forgive himself if he were to lose such an opportunity, and accordingly he went down and made himself quite master of the whole routine, and did not seem to suffer in the least.

“ From what he had seen at Falmouth, Truro, and Welbesy, of the different specimens of the ores, he appeared quite confirmed in his original opinion of the superiority of the Japan ore.

“ We experienced the greatest possible civility and attention during the time we were inspecting this mine, and Mr. Raffles was greatly pleased with the anxiety and willingness evinced to afford him information on every point connected with mining in all its branches.”

Mr. Raffles reached London on the 16th of July, 1816, and the next morning he announced his arrival at the East India House. He looked with the greatest confidence to the Court of Directors for ample justice, when they were in possession of the facts of his case. The serenity of his temper, the buoyancy of his spirit, and the joyous feeling of returning health, absorbed the recollection of past misery and disappointment, in bright anticipations of future reward and happiness.

## CHAPTER X.

*Mr. Raffles appeals to the Court of Directors—Writes his History of Java—Princess Charlotte—Visits the Continent—Meditates the establishment of a Society on the principle of the Jardin des Plantes—Is appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen and its dependencies—Embarks for India—Death of Princess Charlotte—Arrival in Sumatra—Description of the Settlement—Dispute with the Dutch Government—Earthquakes—State of Bencoolen—His habits of intercourse with the Natives.*

As soon as Mr. Raffles reached London he addressed the Court of Directors. He had laboured for ten years with unwearied zeal to promote their best interests, and he therefore claimed a revision of his services.

Mr. Raffles' health was so much impaired by his residence in India, that his friends strongly urged the necessity of his relinquishing all thoughts of returning to that country, but to this advice it was unfortunately not in his power to attend; previously to leaving England, however, he was anxious to record the information which he had collected regarding Java. The island had been transferred by the English Government in total ignorance of its value to the Dutch. The presence of Mr. Raffles in England created an interest in the subject as far as his personal influence extended. To diffuse this interest

more generally, and to make the country sensible of the loss sustained by the relinquishment of so flourishing a colony to a foreign and a rival power, he determined to write his History of Java, which he completed with his usual quickness. A few sheets were rapidly written off every morning for the printer, and corrected at night on his return from his dinner engagements. It was commenced in the month of October, 1816, and published in May, 1817\*. It was at this time that Mr. Raffles was presented to the Prince Regent, and received the honour of Knighthood.

During this period Sir Stamford enjoyed the pleasures of society with a zest which may well be imagined, when the vigour of his mind and the variety of his tastes are considered. He left England, indeed, at an age when he had no opportunity of judging of the attractions of its best society; but whilst he was occupied in his public duties in the East, he seized eagerly every opportunity to gratify his thirst of knowledge, and to improve the talents with which God had blessed him: he, therefore, in every station surrounded himself with all of every class from whom he could derive information; and he returned to England with talents ripened, and with a taste formed for all the intellectual enjoyments of life. During the fifteen months which he thus passed he had the happiness to obtain the friendship of many, whose sympathy in after

\* Early in this year Mr. Raffles married Sophia, daughter of J. W. Hull, Esq., of the county of Down, Ireland.

scenes of anxiety and sorrow, with which it pleased God to visit him, proved a source of comfort and consolation. He had also the high gratification of being one of those whom their Royal Highnesses Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold honoured with proofs of regard. He was a frequent guest at Claremont. His last dinner before he set out on his expedition was there; and the ring which on that day the Princess gave to him, was the gift which, of all such gifts, he prized most.

In the month of June Sir Stamford Raffles visited the Continent for the purpose of obtaining an interview with the King of Holland, and making some representations to his Majesty in behalf of the native and some of the Dutch inhabitants of Java.—The following letters give an account of this tour.

TO HER GRACE THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

“ *Brussels, July 14th, 1817.*

“ You will have had cause to call me a very bad correspondent: I have neither kept my word nor kept my journal; and as it is now too late to attempt bringing up arrears, I must hasten back to London, and make the best apology I can, and trust to my personal influence for forgiveness.

“ I send you, within, a ‘Forget-me-Not,’ or, as the Swiss call it, ‘*Rose ne m’oubliez pas,*’ from the Alps.

“ Your Grace will expect that I should say something of the countries I have passed through, and yet what can



you expect from one who knows so little of the European world, and is scarcely in one place before he flies to another. Of France you have so many accounts that it would be presumptuous in me to offer an opinion; of Switzerland and the Alps your Grace knows every thing; and to attempt to extol the banks of the Rhine, or the fertility of Belgium, would be like giving you an account of the banks of the Thames and the fields of England. I was certainly surprised and delighted with the appearance of agriculture in France, not that the fields were as highly cultivated as in England, nor that any thing like an advanced state of agriculture was to be seen. I was pleased to observe two things, which I know are highly condemned by agriculturists, the smallness of the properties, and the cultivation of the fruit-trees in the grain and hay-fields. Agriculturists maintain that capital is essential to improvement; that when the properties are so small there can be no capital; this I grant to be good diction where the soil is poor and requires much improvement, but when it is rich, and wants little or no improvement, capital is unnecessary. For the greatness of a country it may be an object that the greatest possible quantity of produce should be brought to market; and those who are for raising a nation maintain that this can only be effected by large farms and the outlay of capital. The philanthropist, however, and even the philosopher, will hesitate before he sacrifices every thing to the greatness of the nation; unless its happiness goes hand in hand with its greatness, he will think the

latter but of little value. Now when I see every man cultivating his own field, I cannot but think him happier far than when he is cultivating the field of another; even if he labours more, that labour is still lighter which is his pride and pleasure, than that which is his burden and sorrow. In France there seems to be so much good land that it can be hardly managed amiss, and in the provinces through which I passed it struck me that the crops were full as good as those which I have seen in England. Throw the people out of these little properties, and they lose their independence of character, their pride; and when only accustomed to daily wages are soon fitted for the army, the manufactory, or the poor-house. But you will say how is it that in France, where the government is so despotic, that the people are happier than in England? Many causes may have contributed to the present state of agriculture in France; the revolution abolished the feudal rights and service, with ten thousand vexations under which it had previously laboured; and the land in general fell into the hands of the actual cultivators, and the people who were seen to cultivate it with so much pleasure. It did not suit Buonaparte's policy to grind the peasant: from the lower class he wanted men and took them, but this only left the more for those who remained; it was from the rich that he took money, and the demands of his government gave employment to all; all the energies of France were exerted at his command: but however dearly it cost his subjects to maintain his authority, the

burden seems to have fallen so lightly on the agriculturist that he even benefited by it.

“ I like to see fruit-trees growing among the corn, because it not only affords a refreshing and beautiful scenery, but because it reminds me of those patriarchal times, those days of simplicity, when the son and the grandson, and even the great grandson, honoured the trees that their forefathers planted.

“ Upon the whole, I cannot but think that, notwithstanding agriculture as a science may be almost unknown in France, and that France as a nation has been greatly impoverished both in men and money, there is a foundation in the present state of her land and peasantry to support a much greater nation than France ever yet was : all now depends upon the wisdom of their government and the fortune of her politics. So much for the agriculture of France.

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*            \*

“ Switzerland seems to have felt the weight of French influence, and is certainly very different to what it is represented to have been some twenty years ago ; but the valley of Chamouni, the Alps are the same ; that troubled sea which seems to have been in a moment stayed and fettered by an icy hand, still shines in all its majesty ; nor has all the vice nor all the blood which has stained the lower world cast one spot to sully the heavenly purity of Mont Blanc.

“ The Rhine, with its hundred castles which line the

heights along its banks, still flow in its ancient course, to delight the traveller, enrich the land, and spur the industry of man.

“ Of this place, and its politics, I have seen but little.”

\* \* \* \* \*

Sir Stamford Raffles reached London from Holland on the 26th of July, and on the following day he wrote to his friend

MR. MARSDEN.

*“ Berners Street, July 27th, 1817.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I have the pleasure to inclose you a letter from Mr. Langles, which relates, I believe, principally to a copy of Marco Polo in the Royal Library, that he conceives may be useful for you to refer to.

“ We arrived yesterday evening, after a very pleasant tour of seven weeks, having crossed France from Dieppe through Rouen, Paris, and Dijon, to Geneva; passed through the valley of Chamouni, along the foot of the Alps, and returned by Lausanne and Berne to Basle and down the Rhine to Cologne, whence we traversed the Low Countries to Brussels and Ostend. We had fine weather throughout, and met with neither delay nor difficulty to render the journey unpleasant. At Paris and Brussels we remained from eight to ten days, which enabled us to see all the lions; to have seen more would have taken months, and these I could not spare.

“ I met with very great attention in the Netherlands, and had the honour to dine with the King last Monday : they were very communicative regarding their eastern colonies ; but I regret to say that, notwithstanding the King himself, and his leading minister, seem to mean well, they have too great a hankering after profit, and *immediate* profit, for any liberal system to thrive under them.

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*            \*

“ We shall remain in town about three weeks, and I hope to embark in September.

“ Yours, &c. &c.

“ T. S. R.”

The period was now approaching when it became necessary to make the requisite arrangements for returning to India. Sir Stamford was incessantly occupied in scientific and literary inquiries, and formed his plans for still further contributing to the valuable and interesting collections he had sent home from the Eastern Islands. At this time he meditated the establishment of a Society on the principle of the *Jardin des Plantes* at Paris, which finally, on his last return from the East, he succeeded in forming, in 1826, under the title of the Zoological Society of London. He was also deeply engaged in the duties and pleasures of private friendship. He visited Liverpool, Manchester, the Lakes of Westmoreland, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, and Wales ; travelling, with his usual speed, sixteen hours in the day.

In October, 1817, Sir Stamford, with his family, embarked for Bencoolen at Portsmouth, on board "The Lady Raffles." The Court of Directors, "in consideration of the zeal and talents displayed during the period he filled the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Java, conferred upon him the title of Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, as a *peculiar mark of the favourable sentiments which the Court entertained of his merits and services.*"

The following are extracts of letters written to the Duchess of Somerset.

" October 13th, 1817.

" Oh! that this leave-taking was at an end; my heart is sad, and yet what avails it to repine? I must go, and the sooner I am off the better. My house is filled with those who are all determined to say good-bye, and make me more miserable when it requires all my fortitude to keep my spirits calm and uniform."

" Falmouth, October 29th.

" We had a fair wind down the channel, but had hardly got to the Land's End when a heavy gale came on from the westward with a tremendous sea: this we stemmed for three days, but at last finding we were losing ground, and every one being tired out, some with severe sickness, others with severe duty, we were compelled to seek shelter in this friendly port. Lady Raffles has suffered severely from the motion of the ship, and for the last four days refused every kind of nourishment. even a glass of cold

water, so that I cannot help thinking it fortunate we have an opportunity of recruiting her. Often, very often, I might say always, do we regret it is Falmouth and not Plymouth: we might then have hoped once more to have said good-bye!

\* \* \* \*

“ I am going into the country to descend a tin-mine, and I hope to be quite *learned* in the mineralogy of Cornwall.”

“ *Falmouth, November 6th, 1817.*

“ Last night I was gratified by the receipt of your kind letters: this morning we are greeted with a fair wind, and summoned to embark within half an hour. God grant we may be fairly off!—as we must go—the sooner the better.”

\* \* \* \*

“ *November 7th.*

“ We sailed yesterday, and by the pilot I sent a few hurried lines—to say farewell—but alas! the wind soon after changed, and we are again driven into port. We were obliged to run in quickly, otherwise we should have been driven back to Plymouth. I cannot say I should have regretted this, but it would have been a very bad way of commencing a voyage.

“ How long we may remain here seems uncertain: the wind now blows what the sailors call ‘great guns,’ and perhaps it will expend its fury, and change about to a more favourable quarter.

“ We are now detained on board on account of the

violence of the wind, but we hope to have a boat off in the evening."

*" Falmouth, November 9th.*

" We landed this morning, and if the wind continues equally unfavourable to-morrow, we have it in contemplation to set off post for Plymouth.

\*                    \*                    \*                    \*                    \*

" What a melancholy and unexpected event has occurred! It has shocked me beyond measure—I dare not dwell upon it\*."

*" Off Falmouth, November 19th.*

" Once more we are off, and as we must go, God grant it may be for good! We left Plymouth after sunset yesterday, travelled all night, and are now many miles from Falmouth on our watery way.

" And now, then, I must say good-bye in earnest, for the wind is decidedly fair, and promises to continue so."

*" At Sea, December 1st, 1817.*

" The die is now cast, and we are at last fairly off. We have just weathered the Bay of Biscay, and hope, in the course of next week, to reach Madeira. We are at

\* The reader has already supplied the event,—the death of Her Royal Highness Princess Charlotte. The kindness which Sir Stamford received from this noble-minded Princess, and from His Royal Highness Prince Leopold, was returned by him with the most devoted attachment. Those who remember the universal feeling of grief, when the whole nation was humbled under this calamity, will not wonder that Sir Stamford mourned her early and unexpected death with far more than a subject's sorrow.



present harassed by contrary winds, but the weather is fine, and we are already sensible of a warmer climate. Lady Raffles has suffered very much, and has not yet left her couch.

“The concerns of our little community are of too monotonous a nature to deserve detail, and as yet the heavens and the ocean have been our only prospect from without. You will be glad, however, to hear that all the individuals of the ark are well and thriving. The cows, dogs, cats, birds, the latter singing around me, and my nursery of plants thriving beyond all expectation: the thermometer is at  $76^{\circ}$ . What a waste of waters now lies between us, and yet the distance daily widens, and will widen still until half the world divides us.”

It is by many considered impossible to occupy the mind and time steadily and usefully under all the discomforts and disadvantages of a sea voyage; but Sir Stamford never relaxed his occupations—he regularly devoted his mornings to study—and only allowed a small portion of the day to be occupied in the idle exercise of walking on the deck. He spent most of his time in the retirement of his cabin—read and wrote on serious subjects till the evening, when he read aloud some books of poetry or light works; and thus, though never well at sea, he had the satisfaction of feeling that the time, if not agreeably, was not unprofitably spent.

The passage was long and tedious—five months without

any object to vary the scene, relieve the eye, or divert the mind from the contemplation of what has been compared to *one great monotonous idea*. “The Lady Raffles” reached Bencoolen, without touching at any port, on the 22nd of March, 1818.

Sir Stamford found the settlement in a state of great confusion; the Government-houses were deserted; there was no accommodation for any of the party, and he was obliged to put his family into a habitation which was so impaired by the shocks of earthquakes, that the inhabitants would not trust themselves in it. His letters to his friends describe his feelings on his first arrival.

TO WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ.

*Bencoolen, April 7, 1818.*

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I have only time to advise you of our safe arrival here.

“We had a very tedious passage of more than four months, exclusive of our detention at Falmouth. Lady Raffles presented me with a beautiful little girl, when to the southward of the Cape: fortunately we had moderate and fine weather, and both mother and child did wonderfully well; neither of them suffered from the privations attending a protracted voyage. At the suggestion of the Radin\*, my daughter has received the name of Tunjong

\* Ràden-Ràna-Dipùra, a Javanese Chief, who had accompanied Sir Stamford to England.

Segára (the Lily of the Sea), in addition to those of Charlotte Sophia.

“ This is, without exception, the most wretched place I ever beheld. I cannot convey to you an adequate idea of the state of ruin and dilapidation which surrounds me. What with natural impediments, bad government, and the awful visitations of Providence which we have recently experienced, in repeated earthquakes, we have scarcely a dwelling in which to lay our heads, or where-withal to satisfy the cravings of nature. The roads are impassable; the highways in the town overrun with rank grass; the Government-house a den of ravenous dogs and polecats. The natives say that Bencoolen is now a *tána mati* (dead land). In truth, I could never have conceived any thing half so bad. We will try and make it better; and if I am well supported from home, the west coast may yet be turned to account. You must, however, be prepared for the abolition of slavery; the emancipation of the country people from the forced cultivation of pepper; the discontinuance of the gaming and cock-fighting farms, and a thousand other practices equally disgraceful and repugnant to the British character and government. A complete and thorough reform is indispensable, and reductions must be made throughout.

“ As soon as I have effected some essential changes here, I mean to go to Croee by land, afterwards to Padang; from the latter place I shall go by sea to Tappanooly, and thence most probably to Acheen, where there

will be much to do. I must not omit to tell you that it is my intention to visit Menangkabu from Padang. Mr. Holloway seems half afraid, but, *nolens volens*, as he is Resident, he must accompany me.

“ I am already at issue with the Dutch Government about their boundaries in the Lampooon country. They insist on packing us up close to Billimbing, on the west coast. I demand an anchorage in Simangka Bay, and lay claim to Simangka itself. If we obtain this, we shall have a convenient place for our China ships to water; and should we go no farther within the Archipelago, be able to set up our shop next door to the Dutch. It would not, I think, be many years before my station in the Straits of Sunda would rival Batavia as a commercial *entrepôt*. If I have time, you shall have copies of my despatches, and I hope to have your support with Mr. Canning on this point. You will at once see the immense importance of what I am standing out for, both for this coast and our interest generally.

“ We are beginning to make ourselves comfortable—happy we always are. Our kindest regards to Mrs. Marsden.”

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

*Fort Marlborough, April 8th, 1818.*

“ What an age has passed! what a distance are we apart! fifteen thousand miles on the opposite sides of the world! \* \* \* \* \*

“ In my last I gave you a dry detail of our voyage. My arrival was not hailed by the most auspicious of omens, for the day previous to it a violent earthquake had nearly destroyed every building in the place, and the first communication which I received from the shore was, that both Government-houses were rendered useless and uninhabitable. These earthquakes are said to occur every five or six years, and they have now lasted from the 18th of the last month up to the present period, the shocks occurring within short intervals twice or thrice a day. The most violent shock happened on the 18th, before our arrival: it occurred during the night, and, by the accounts given, it must have been truly awful. Every building has suffered more or less; some are quite ruins, others hardly deserving repair: the house which I now occupy is rent from top to bottom, there is not a room without a crack of some feet long and several inches wide; the cornices broken and every thing unhinged; from some houses many cart-loads of rubbish have been cleared away, and still they are inhabited, notwithstanding they rock to and fro with every breeze.

“ This you will say is but a bad beginning for my Eastern Empire, but as we are not inclined to make difficulties, or murmur against Providence, we shall, I have no doubt, contrive to make ourselves very happy. The earthquake might have been worse, for in the accounts of a shock felt on this coast in 1797, it is stated that the vibratory shocks continued for three minutes, and re-

curred at intervals during the space of three hours, till the shock completely ceased. At Padang, the houses of the inhabitants were almost entirely destroyed, and the public works much damaged. A vessel lying at anchor was thrown by the sudden rise of the tide upwards of three miles on shore. The number of lives lost there amounted to above three hundred; of these some were crushed under the ruins of falling houses, some were literally entombed alive by the earth closing upon them, and others were drowned by the sudden irruption of the waters of the ocean. But, after all, this is nothing to our Java volcanoes: there is nothing here half so grand and magnificent; and from what I have seen of Sumatra, I would not give one Java for a thousand such islands.

“ I have been here so short a time, and have had so little opportunity of looking about, that I have not much to say of the farther East.

“ I am now preparing for a tour overland to the Southern Residencies, as far as the straits of Sunda, and on my return shall go northward as far as Acheen, and inland to Pageruyung or Menangkabu, the capital of the Malays.”

\* \* \* \* \*

It may be inferred, even from these short extracts, that Sir Stamford found sufficient occupation for his active mind. He devoted his whole time, on his first arrival, to the examination of the Records of the settlement, the

state of the country and people in its immediate neighbourhood, and endeavoured to collect the European inhabitants and the native Chiefs around him, that he might become personally acquainted with their habits and manners. The same system of excluding the natives from the society of Europeans had been pursued in this settlement as in most other parts of India. Sir Stamford at once broke down this barrier, and opened his house to the higher class of natives on all occasions. During the whole period of his residence in Sumatra he had some of them present during the hours of social intercourse.

The result of this change it is needless to dwell upon. The Chiefs and people considered him as their best friend and adviser, yielded to his opinion upon all occasions, and harmony and good-will prevailed throughout the settlement.

With regard to the Dutch, so active had they been in their endeavours to regain their Empire in the East, and to depress the native power, that the re-appearance of Sir Stamford in the Archipelago was hailed with joy and hope on the one side, as a deliverance, and with fear and jealousy on the other, as an invasion.

The effect of his return to a scene of action in which he had borne so conspicuous a part might have been foreseen. It was impossible to expect tame submission from those who were oppressed, when there appeared a hope of relief, or to suppose that Sir Stamford could with indifference look on, and take no part in the

struggle. A different character might have acted differently; but in sending him into such a field of action, the experience of his government in Java was sufficient evidence of what was to be expected from the Governor of Bencoolen.



## CHAPTER XI.

*Sir Stamford Raffles determines to penetrate into the interior of the country—First excursion to the Hill of Mists—Account of journey to Passumah—Discovery of gigantic flower—Vegetation of Malayan forests—Reason for visiting Passumah—Ceremony of a funeral—Traces of ancient Hindu mythology—Description of the people—Small-pox—Fatigue of the journey—Descends in rafts—Return to Masna—Proceeds to Cawoor—Success of first attempt to cross the Island of Sumatra—Extract from Mr. Presgrave's Journal—Description of the sacred mountain—Disappointment in not reaching the crater—Return to Manna—Mountain's temperature—Large lake—Sufferings of the people for want of salt, prohibited by the Dutch Government—People of Pasumah Lebar—Descendants of the Javanese—Villages—Language—Religion.*

SIR STAMFORD considered it to be his duty, as it was his inclination, to obtain some general knowledge of the island, as well as of that particular portion of it over which he was appointed to preside. The East India Company, indeed, had confined their rule to a narrow strip of sea-coast, but it was desirable that some intercourse should take place with the people of the country beyond, since a mutual exchange of good offices would, it was natural to suppose, prove beneficial to both parties.

A general impression prevailed, that it was impossible to penetrate the range of hills which run from north to

south throughout this great island. All those who were applied to declined making the attempt; and Sir Stamford was obliged to come to the determination, that he would go himself, and visit the interior and more fertile parts.

His first excursion was a short distance immediately inland from Bencoolen. The second down the coast by the sea-beach, for about eighty miles, to Manna, and from thence, some days' journey into the interior; and after returning to Manna, still further down the coast, to Cawoor; from this last place back to Bencoolen.

He gave an account of these excursions to his friends in letters, written at the time, from which the following are a selection:—

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

*“ On board the Lady Raffles, off Sumatra,  
July 11th, 1818.*

“ That your Grace may not think me unmindful of my promise, I must now send you some account of our proceedings since I troubled you with my letters by the Northumberland.

“ I will not, however, trouble your Grace with any details of the immediate changes which have been effected at Bencoolen, nor with what are in contemplation; the place is too insignificant for general interest, and my subjects too uncultivated for pleasing description. A wider field is open in the Archipelago generally, and in my pro-

ceedings with the Dutch your Grace might find more amusement; but even on these I shall be silent at present, and proceed to what more immediately relates to me personally.

“At the time I wrote by the Northumberland, we had just taken up our abode in a crazy dwelling, called the Government-house, full of cracks and fissures: of the country I had seen nothing, and of the general character and condition of the people I then knew little. My first incursion into the interior was immediately east of Bencoolen; here I found the country in a wretched state, and very thinly peopled. I ascended the first range of hills, and having taken up a position on the Hill of Mists (Bukit Kabut), which commands a most extensive view of the surrounding country, and on which no European had before set foot, I determined to make it our country residence, and accordingly gave orders for clearing the forest, &c. In this I have already made considerable progress; a comfortable cottage is erected, and, as far as we can yet judge, the thermometer is at least six degrees lower than at Bencoolen. The only inconvenience will arise from the tigers and elephants, which abound in the vicinity. One of the villagers told me that his father and grandfather were carried off by tigers, and there is scarcely a family that has not lost some of its members by them. In many parts the people would seem to have resigned the empire to these animals, taking but few precautions against them, and regarding them as sacred; they believe

in transmigration and call them their *nene*, or grandfather. On the banks of one of the rivers of this coast upwards of a hundred people were carried off by tigers during the last year. When a tiger enters a village, the foolish people frequently prepare rice and fruits, and placing them at the entrance as an offering to the animal, conceive that, by giving him this hospitable reception, he will be pleased with their attention, and pass on without doing them harm. They do the same on the approach of the small-pox, and thus endeavour to lay the evil spirit by kind and hospitable treatment. I am doing all I can to resume the empire of man, and, having made open war against the whole race of wild and ferocious animals, I hope we shall be able to reside on the Hill of Mists without danger from their attacks.

“ Our next excursion was on a tour through the southern Residencies, in which Lady Raffles accompanied me. We were absent about three weeks, and visited the districts of Salumah, Manna, and Cawoor, which your Grace will see noticed in the map. Our road lay principally along the sea-beach, and mostly on the sands. From Manna, however, we penetrated into the interior, and visited the Pasumah country ; and, as our journey was very interesting, I shall give you a more particular account of it.

“ We left Manna on the morning of the 19th of May, and proceeded on horseback as far as the village of Tanjung Agung, on the Manna river, where we halted during the middle of the day ; the distance about twenty miles.

In the afternoon we walked through the woods to a place called Merambung, about ten miles further up. The road, a mere pathway, very steep in many parts, and not passable on horseback. We remarked at Merambung that the houses were larger and much better constructed than on the coast, and that, in the middle of the village, there was an erection resembling a pigeon-house. This was termed a *Lang'gar*, or place appropriated to penance, in which the party remained during the time. As this is inconsistent with Mahomedanism, we concluded it to be a remnant of the more ancient faith of the country,—a conclusion we found fully confirmed from what we subsequently observed further in the interior. The villagers were very hospitable, and my reception by the Chief was truly patriarchal.

“ On the next morning (the 20th), at half-past five, we commenced our journey towards Passumah on foot; the party, consisting of myself, Lady Raffles, Dr. Arnold, and Mr. Presgrave, the Resident of Manna, with six native officers, and about fifty coolies (porters) carrying our food and baggage. Our journey lay near the banks of the river during the whole day, but frequently over high cliffs, and almost entirely through thick forests. On approaching Lebu Tappu, where a village had once stood, we first fell in with the tracts of elephants; they were very numerous, and it was evident they had only preceded us a short time. We here passed over much ground, which at one

period must have been in cultivation, but which had long been in a state of nature. After breakfasting at Lebu Tappu, under the shade of the largest tree we could find, we proceeded on to a place called Pulo Lebar, where it was arranged we were to sleep. This also had been the site of a village, but no trace of human dwelling or cultivation was to be found: we reached it at half-past four in the afternoon, having walked for upwards of eight hours. We immediately set to work and erected two or three sheds to sleep in, collecting the materials from the vegetation around us. The river here was broad, but very rocky: the scenery highly romantic and beautiful. During the night we were awakened by the approach of a party of elephants, who seemed anxious to inquire our business within their domains: fortunately they kept at some distance, and allowed us to remain unmolested. The natives fancy that there are two kinds of elephants; the *gaja berkampong*, those which always go in herds, and which are seldom mischievous, and the *gaja salunggal*, or single elephants, which are much larger and ferocious, going about either singly or only two or three in company. It is probable the latter kind are only the full-grown males.

“I must not omit to tell you, that in passing through the forest we were, much to our inconvenience, greatly annoyed by leeches; they got into our boots and shoes, which became filled with blood; at night, too, they fell off the leaves that sheltered us from the weather, and on



*Rafflesia Arnoldi.*



P. 1. 1. 1.

Fig. 12. Rafflesia.



awaking in the morning we found ourselves bleeding profusely—these were a species of intruders we were not prepared for.

“ The most important discovery throughout our journey was made at this place. This was a gigantic flower, of which I can hardly attempt to give anything like a just description. It is perhaps the largest and most magnificent flower in the world, and is so distinct from every other flower, that I know not to what I can compare it—its dimensions will astonish you—it measured across from the extremity of the petals rather more than a yard, the nectarium was nine inches wide, and as deep; estimated to contain a gallon and a half of water, and the weight of the whole flower fifteen pounds.

“ The Sumatran name of this extraordinary production is Petimun Sikinlili, or Devil's-Siri (beetle) box. It is a native of the forests, particularly those of Passumah Ulu Manna.

“ This gigantic flower is parasite on the lower stems and roots of the *Cissus Angustifolia* of Box. It appears at first in the form of a small round knob, which gradually increases in size. The flower-bud is invested by numerous membranaceous sheaths, which surround it in successive layers and expand as the bud enlarges, until at length they form a cup round its base. These sheaths or bracts are large, round, concave, of a firm membranaceous consistence, and of a brown colour. The bud before expansion is depressive, round, with five obtuse angles,

nearly a foot in diameter, and of a deep dusky red. The flower, when fully expanded, is, in point of size, the wonder of the vegetable kingdom; the breadth across, from the top of the one petal to the top of the other, is three feet. The cup may be estimated capable of containing twelve pints, and the weight of the whole is from twelve to fifteen pounds. The inside of the cup is of an intense purple, and more or less densely yellow, with soft flexible spines of the same colour: towards the mouth, it is marked with numerous depressed spots of the purest white, contrasting strongly with the purple of the surrounding substance, which is considerably elevated on the lower side. The petals are of a brick-red, with numerous pustular spots of a lighter colour. The whole substance of the flower is not less than half an inch thick, and of a firm fleshy consistence. It soon after expansion begins to give out a smell of decaying animal matter. The fruit never bursts, but the whole plant gradually rots away, and the seeds mix with the putrid mass\*.

“ If I am successful in obtaining a draftsman, your Grace shall have a perfect representation of it. I have made a very rough sketch of it myself, but it is not in that state that I could venture to present it. It seems to be a flower unknown to most of the natives, as well as to

\* Through the kindness of Mr. Lambert, the Vice-President, the Editor has obtained permission from the Linnæan Society to have impressions of this singular production, which was engraved for their Transactions.

naturalists ; its colours red, yellow, and purple, and most brilliant. The chemical composition being fungous, it would not keep ; and not having sufficient spirits, we could not preserve it entire. A part of it, with two buds almost as big as a child's head, will be sent home.

“ There is nothing more striking in the Malayan forests than the grandeur of the vegetation. The magnitude of the flowers, creepers, and trees, contrasts strikingly with the stunted and, I had almost said, pigmy vegetation of England. Compared with our forest-trees, your largest oak is a mere dwarf. Here we have creepers and vines entwining larger trees, and hanging suspended for more than a hundred feet,—in girth not less than a man's body, and many much thicker. The trees seldom under a hundred, and generally approaching a hundred and sixty to two hundred feet in height. One tree that we measured was, in circumference, nine yards ! and this is nothing to one I measured in Java. I must, however, proceed to relate our journey.

“ From Pulo Lebar we started at half-past five, and halted at eight to breakfast. At eleven we reached the Sindangaré river, where we took some refreshment, and in the evening, about half-past five, reached Barong Rasam. The day's journey being most fatiguing, and not less than thirty miles, entirely through a thick forest, and over stupendous mountains, one of which, called the Sindangan Mountain, could not have been less than between four and five thousand feet high. Neither on this nor on the

preceding day was there a vestige of population or cultivation; nature was throughout allowed to reign undisturbed; and from the traces of elephants in every direction, they alone of the animal kingdom seemed to have explored the recesses of the forest.

“ We got on, however, very well; and though we were all occasionally much fatigued, we did not complain. Lady Raffles was a perfect heroine. The only misfortune at this stage was a heavy fall of rain during the night, which penetrated our leafy dwelling in every direction, and soaked every one of the party to the skin. We were now two days' march beyond the reach of supplies; many of our Coolies had dropped off; some were fairly exhausted, and we began to wish our journey at an end. We, however, contrived to make a good dinner on the remaining fowl, and having plenty of rice and claret, did not complain of our fare.

“ On the next morning we started in better spirits, having been met by one of the Chiefs of Passumah, who came to welcome our approach, and to assure us, if we walked fast, we should reach a village in the afternoon. For the first part of the day our road was still over stupendous mountains, sometimes in the beds of rivers for miles, and at all times difficult; but, about noon, we came into a country that had once been cleared, and again fell in with the Manna River, which we crossed on a raft previously prepared for the purpose, many of the Chiefs and people of Passumah having assembled to meet us.

We had still, however, a very steep ascent to encounter ; but no sooner had we attained the summit, and bent our steps downward, than our view opened upon one of the finest countries I ever beheld, amply compensating us for all the dreariness of the forest, and for all the fatigues we had undergone ; perhaps the prospect was heightened by the contrast ; but the country I now beheld reminded me so much of scenes in Java, and was in every respect so different to that on the coast, that I could not help expressing myself in raptures. As we descended, the scene improved ; we found ourselves in an immense amphitheatre, surrounded by mountains ten and twelve thousand feet high ; the soil on which we stood rich beyond description, and vegetation luxuriant and brilliant in every direction. The people, too, seemed a new race, far superior to those on the coast—tall, stout, and ingenuous. They received us most hospitably, and conducted us to the village of Nigri-Cayu, where we slept.

“ I should not omit to inform you, that the immediate occasion of my visiting Passumah was to reconcile contending interests which had long distracted the country. For the last ten years these people had been at war with us, or rather we had been at war with them, for we appeared to have been the aggressors throughout. I was assured that my person would be endangered, that the Passumahs were a savage ungovernable race, and that no terms could ever be made with them, and I was not a little gratified to find everything the reverse of what had been

represented to me. I found them reasonable and industrious,—an agricultural race more sinned against than sinning.

“ In the vicinity of Nigri-Cayu were several hot springs, and we soon succeeded in making very comfortable warm baths.

“ On the next day we proceeded to Tanjung Alem (the point of the world), another village in the Passumah country, which we reached in about six hours' walk, through one of the finest countries in the world, having before us, nearly the whole way, the volcanic mountain called Gunung Dempu, from which the smoke issued in large volumes.

“ At Tanjung Alem we remained two nights. We found the villages in this part of the country most respectable, many of them having more than five hundred inhabitants; the houses large, and on a different plan to those on the coast, each village, which may rather be considered as a small town, has a fosse or ditch round it with high palisades. We passed the site of two or three towns which were represented to have been destroyed by the petty hostilities between the Chiefs.

“ During our stay at Tanjung Alem, the Chiefs entered into a treaty, by which they placed themselves under the protection of the British Government, and thus all cause of dispute and misunderstanding was at once set at rest. I must also note another occurrence of moment: an old woman of rank died, and we witnessed all the ceremonies.

They commenced by all the females of the village repairing to the house of the deceased, and setting up a squall, something like the Irish howl, for an hour or two. After this the body was removed to the Bali, or hall of audience, where we were to dine; we, however, preferred dining in another place, but in the evening it was expected that we should be present at the ceremony, which consisted of dancing and singing, in the presence of the whole village, assembled in the hall where the body lay. On the next morning the head of the village killed a goat, and sprinkled the blood about the house of the deceased, and all the maidens within hail attended at the Bali, contending with each other who should exclaim loudest, ‘Oh mother! come back, mother come back!’ This continued till they concluded the body would keep no longer, when it was hurried off, and quietly carried out of the village to a grave, in which it was interred without further ceremony.

“The people, though professedly Mahomedans, seemed more attached to their ancient worship and superstitions than I expected. I clearly traced an ancient mythology, and obtained the names of at least twenty gods, several of whom are Hindus. In each of the villages we found a Lang’gar, similar to that noticed at Merambung, but generally better constructed.

“The utmost good-humour and affection seemed to exist among the people of the village: they were as one family, the men walking about holding each other by the hand, and playing tricks with each other like children.

They were as fine a race as I ever beheld; in general about six feet high, and proportionably stout, clear and clean skins, and an open ingenuous countenance. They seemed to have abundance of everything; rice, the staple food of the country, being five times as cheap as at Bencoolen, and every other article of produce in proportion. The women and children were decorated with a profusion of silver ornaments, and particularly with strings of dollars and other coins hanging two or three deep round the neck. It was not uncommon to see a child with a hundred dollars round her neck. Every one seemed anxious for medicine, and they cheerfully agreed to be vaccinated. The small-pox had latterly committed great ravages, and the population of whole villages had fled into the woods to avoid the contagion.

“We now thought of returning to the coast, and on the 24th set off for Manna by a different route to that by which we had arrived. Our first day’s journey was to Camumuan, which we reached a little before six in the evening, after the hardest day’s walk I ever experienced. We calculated that we had walked more than thirty miles, and over the worst of roads. Hitherto we had been fortunate in our weather; but before we reached this place, a heavy rain came on, and soaked us completely. The baggage only came up in part, and we were content to sleep in our wet clothes, under the best shade we could find. No wood would burn; there was no moon; it was already dark, and we had no shelter erected. By perseverance, how-



ever, I made a tolerable place for Lady Raffles, and after selecting the smoothest stone I could find in the bed of a river for a pillow, we managed to pass a tolerably comfortable night. This is what is here called the Ulu Pino Road; and we were encouraged to undertake long marches in the hope of only sleeping in the woods one night, and in this we fortunately succeeded."

This was, perhaps, the worst day's journey that the party experienced. The route was very imperfectly known, and a heavy rain rendered the forest dreary, and the walk more than usually irksome. Sir Stamford and Dr. Arnold took the only guide, and hastened forward in the hope of reaching the river, and preparing a fire. It was soon discovered that the remainder of the party had lost their way; the people dispersed to endeavour to trace the steps of those who were gone before, all anxiously listening to catch the sound of water, that most delightful of all sounds to the weary traveller, in a strange country and a hot climate. At last Mr. Presgrave and the Editor were left entirely to themselves, and whilst debating what to do, and pursuing their walk in no little anxiety, the duskiness of the night, the pouring rain, and their wet clothes not adding to their comfort, Mr. Presgrave met with an accident which had nearly proved serious, and caused some alarm. He sunk into a large pit, (which was covered over and concealed with leaves,) and disappeared entirely, and with him sunk the hope of concluding the day's journey, and his companion's spirit. He fortunately succeeded in

extricating himself, and after continuing their walk some time longer, the rippling of water was plainly distinguished, and the busy voices of those assembled on the banks of the river soon obliterated the slight troubles they had been under. A happy night succeeded, and after a few hours' rest, the journey was pursued.

“ The next day we reached Merambung, where we got upon a raft, and were wafted down to the vicinity of Manna in about seven hours. The passage down the river was extremely romantic and grand ; it is one of the most rapid rivers on the coast : we descended a rapid almost every hundred yards.

“ After proceeding from Manna to Cawoor, we returned by the coast to Bencoolen, where we arrived on the 3rd of June, to the no small astonishment of the colonists, who were not inclined to believe it possible we could have thought of such a journey.

“ My attention was now directed to crossing the country to Palembang. The Sultan having applied for the protection of the British Government, I despatched a party to ascertain the practicability of the communication. Before I left Bencoolen I had accounts of their safe arrival. They reached the navigable part of the Palembang river in twelve days' march from Bencoolen ; the party were about four hundred strong. This is the first time the island of Sumatra has ever been crossed by an European, much less by troops.

“ I am now on my way to Padang to see whether I can

not reach Menangkabu before the Dutch arrive, who claim the place under the convention.

“Your Grace shall have the particulars of the tour to Menangkabu, the ancient capital of the Malay Empire, in a separate letter; and I will conclude this hasty journal with assurances of the respect, esteem, and affection with which I have the honour to remain, &c.,

“T. S. RAFFLES.”

The pleasure of this journey was great to Sir Stamford, as it opened to him a field of future usefulness. He saw that it was not only the barren coast which he had to improve, but a country rich in all the bounties of nature, and a people ready and willing to profit by his influence and advice. One old Chief, on taking leave, actually fell on his neck and wept; and soon after walked the whole way from Tanjungalum, the most distant place visited, to see him again at Bencoolen. Such simple uncivilized people are soon won by kindness; they are like children, easy to lead, hard to drive. It was Sir Stamford's extreme simplicity of mind and manners that rendered him so peculiarly attractive to them, as they are always ready to be kind and attentive, provided they meet with encouragement and sympathy, thus affording a proof that the heart is the best teacher of true politeness. The Editor, on reaching Merambung, laid down under the shade of a tree, being much fatigued with walking: the rest of the party dispersed in various directions to make the necessary

arrangements, and seek for shelter; when a Malay girl approached with great grace of manners, and on being asked if she wanted any thing, replied, "No, but seeing you were quite alone, I thought you might like to have a little bichara (talk), and so I am come to offer you some siri (betel), and sit beside you." And no courtier could have discussed trifling general subjects in a better manner, or have better refrained from asking questions which were interesting to herself only; her object was to entertain a stranger, which she did with great refinement and politeness.

The rafts alluded to in descending the Manna river, were formed by a few bamboos fastened together with cords. The Editor had wandered with some of the people out of the direct course through the forest, and hearing a noise of voices, approached the spot where it happened the rafts were making. On inquiry, the task which ought to have been finished was only just commencing. As these rafts were to have been at a spot much lower down the river, in readiness to carry the party back to Manna, the Editor, knowing Sir Stamford's anxiety to proceed, waited till one was completed; but the raft was too slight, the rapids too dangerous at this part of the river, for more than three people to venture: accordingly, a pole was fastened to the centre by which she was to hold, and stand firm. A guide at each extremity then took their station, each provided with a long pole; and the raft glided down the river, which was overhung with high rocks projecting

in various places. One man, on nearing the sharp turns that continually occurred, and against which the rushing of the river propelled the raft, prepared his pole, and just before coming in contact struck it on the rock with such force as to turn off the raft, which darted down the fall until it would have come in contact with the rock on the opposite side, when it was again struck off, and proceeded on to the next rapid. The dashing of the raft through the water, the roaring noise, the complete immersion in the spray, the momentary danger, the degree of exertion which is necessary to preserve hold, the perfect silence of each person—combined to create a degree of excitement not easy to be described. The raft reached Merambung in safety; when, the descent being comparatively easy, two chairs were fastened in the centre, and the passage was a continued scene of pleasure, in admiring the beauty of the surrounding country; until the men suddenly stopped, and said they would not venture farther in the dark, but that there was a village on the banks of the river, where shelter might be found. It was still early, but no inducement could prevail upon the inhabitants to venture out of their houses, for fear of tigers; and it was only by desiring the Chief of the place to order a party, that messengers were dispatched with lighted flambeaux, to procure horses from Manna to conclude the journey.

Sir Stamford rested at Manna one day, and proceeded down the coast to Cawoor: this part of the journey was

very trying : it was performed on horseback, principally on the sea-beach, and in the middle of the day, on account of tigers : the glare from the sea, the heat of the sand on the beach, the vertical rays of a tropical sun, without any shade, either natural or artificial, after the fatigue and exposure already experienced, were distressing to all, and proved fatal to one of the party. Dr. Arnold, on arriving at Cawoor, was seized with a fever, where no medicine could be procured. After remaining there one day with him, Sir Stamford hastened back to Bencoolen to obtain medical aid ; this journey was again necessarily performed on horseback, as the route was impassable for any carriage, and nearly proved fatal to the whole party : in endeavouring to pass a projection of rock, called by the natives *the place of death*, the tide rose so rapidly, and the surf was so high, that the horses began to stagger, the people from the top of the rock screamed in despair, and it was with the utmost difficulty the horses were turned, urged back, and a longer route pursued through the forest. A circumstance occurred here which marks the superstitious fears of the natives. The Coolies, in passing through the forest, came upon a tiger crouched on the path ; they immediately stopped and addressed him in terms of supplication, assuring him they were poor people carrying the Tuan Basar (great man's luggage), who would be very angry with them if they did not arrive in time, and therefore they implored permission to pass quietly and without molestation. The tiger, being startled at their appearance,

got up and walked quietly into the depths of the forest; and they came on perfectly satisfied that it was in consequence of their petition that they passed in safety.

In October, 1818, Mr. Presgrave, Resident of Manna, performed nearly the same journey, with the intention of visiting the volcano on the summit of Gunung Dempo, one of the highest mountains in that part of the island, and gave the following additional particulars of this part of the island.

“ The first part of the journey was performed on horseback over beautiful plains: our party consisted of Mr. Osborn (whose object was the dissemination of the benefits of vaccination), myself, and four Bugguese soldiers for the escort of our baggage, carried by twenty-five coolies or porters. Whilst resting at Gunung Ayu, our attention was suddenly roused by a great noise in the village, the people running in all directions; we soon learned the meaning of this tumult. A man from a distant village, whose father was shot when the Sepoys under Colonel Clayton were sent, after the murder of Mr. Parr, to destroy the villages in Pasumah Ulu Manna, having arrived at the village, and heard that we were there, drew his sword, and in a transport of rage and fury was proceeding to the door crying out for the white men, when he was stopped by the people, disarmed, and conveyed by them away. So bent was he on revenge, that he vowed he would yet accomplish his purpose, for nothing but the blood of an orang puti (white man) would satisfy the

manes of his deceased father. The people are particularly affected with goitres, some of which grow to an immense size, and render the person a disgusting object. Among themselves they do not look upon these monstrous excrescences as deformities, nor do they seem to experience any pain or inconvenience from them ; the inhabitants on the plains are entirely free from the disorder, while as you approach the hills almost every individual is affected with it. The natives attribute it to drinking the water of some particular stream. The latter part of the journey was principally over plains of a fine black loam of very considerable depth, the horses' feet sinking in as they passed over it. We approached the great mountain on the fifth day, winding round the east side of it. On our arrival here, we found one of our horses had died suddenly, by its having eaten some noxious herb which grows amongst the grass. The natives ate part of the carcass, pillaged the bones, and even before death robbed it of all its mane and tail. As this was the first time a horse had been in this part of the country, it excited much curiosity. The people did not seem to entertain any favourable idea of our persons and colour. On entering a village to-day, a tall spare figure, more resembling a spirit broken loose from the infernal regions than a human being, with one of the largest wens in his throat I have ever seen, came up to us ; and after surveying us with an attentive eye for some time, at length exclaimed aloud, ' These are the white men we have so often heard of ! Here they are like



devils.' For this remark he received a rebuke from his countrymen, and slunk away ashamed.

“ We now began to suffer from want ; we had only two bottles of wine left ; we found considerable inconvenience in procuring fowls and other supplies, not from any scarcity of these articles, for they appeared to be in abundance, but on account of our rupees, which, to our daily loss, we found were not current here. Spanish dollars were in great request : the reason for this was that the people of Pasumah Lebar were dependent on Palembang for salt and their piece articles of clothing. We announced our intention of visiting the summit of Gunung Dempo, or the Sacred Mountain, for in that light it is viewed by the natives themselves, who conceive that the guardian genius of the country has his abode in it, and that the Devas and inferior deities have also their residence there. Our object was if possible to reach the Crater. With this view we called for Panglimo, who had been our guide from the coast, and whom we found on all occasions a most useful and faithful man. Panglimo was a man of desperate fortunes ; he had been banished by his relations, and his attachment to us he acknowledged arose from the pecuniary aid which he received. Since the Governor's journey to Pasumah, he said he had realized upwards of a hundred and twenty dollars, which had enabled him to discharge a large portion of his debts. He confessed himself to have been one of the greatest *resaus* (plunderers) in the whole country ; and, indeed,

from the countenance of the man, you would judge him to be capable of executing the most desperate deed: a few dollars would induce him to take away the life of his nearest relation. Panglimo was the only man in all Pasumah who would undertake the arduous task of conducting us to the top of the mountain. Twenty dollars were to be the amount of his reward for performing this service. Not knowing the road, he succeeded, by the promise of five dollars, in procuring a man who professed to be acquainted with it to accompany him. This man was an Imam (priest), whom, from the sanctity of his character, Panglimo considered necessary to ensure success, as he would deprecate the wrath of the deities, and render them propitious to our undertaking. This was to be accomplished by previous sacrifice and fasting, and the day before we set out the Imam performed this part of the ceremony by killing a fowl.

“ Oct. 27.—The Imam having announced this as a lucky day (for we were obliged to give way to his prejudices), we set out with our fearless guide, our party, including Coolies and attendants, amounting to eighteen persons. We did not think it necessary to acquaint the Chiefs with our design, anticipating that they would, in consequence of their superstitious prejudices, make objections, raise difficulties, and perhaps finally hinder us from accomplishing our object. We therefore told them that we were going to the foot of the mountain, but did not acquaint them that we intended to attempt to ascend to

any height. We set forward on our expedition on the morning, passing through several of their villages before we came to the foot of the mountain. At a small elevation from its foot we saw several of the magnificent flowers found by the Governor on his tour to Pasumah Ulu Manna, (*Rafflesia Arnoldi*.) Some were full blown, others in the bud, and the buds of others were just emerging from darkness. We continued our ascent, marking the spots where the flowers grew, in order that we might take some of them with us as specimens on our return. Night was now drawing on, and finding ourselves fatigued, we began to look out for a convenient spot on which to raise our huts. Hearing the rushing of water below us, we were induced to descend, in hopes of obtaining a good supply of water, which appeared to be scarce in this place. On descending a deep ravine we found ourselves on the banks of the river Salangis. This river runs through the whole of the Pasumah Lebar country, in an easterly direction, and at last empties itself into that of Palembang. In this place the river is very narrow; its banks are formed of a black sand, resembling, except in colour, that of the sea-beach. The silence of the stream is here interrupted by an abrupt cataract, over which the water is precipitated with great impetuosity: this was the cause of the noise we heard for the greater part of the afternoon. We at first pitched our tent opposite to the cataract, but the rushing of the water caused a draught of air which pierced so keenly, that we were obliged to remove

it to a greater distance. At times there was such a strong smell of sulphur, that it became almost intolerable. The water was also so impregnated with this mineral as to render it undrinkable, and we were obliged to make use of what we could catch from the side of the rock.

“ On examining our provisions, we found the steward had laid in so scanty a stock as would serve the whole of our party only another day : we therefore sent back several of our followers, taking with us only such as were absolutely necessary. The number of our party thus curtailed, consisted of eleven ; viz., Mr. Church, Mr. Cudlipp, myself, three servants, three Coolies, and the two guides.

“ *Oct. 28.*—Early in the morning, after partaking of a slight breakfast, not daring to indulge lest our stock should fail us before we had completed our undertaking, we ascended from this singular spot, and made another effort to gain the summit of our ambition. We reached the top of the ravine, and bending our course W.N.W., proceeded through deep forests, in which no human traces were to be discovered. Our only path was one that had been opened to us by the passage of elephants : the traces of these masters of the desert were visible in every direction. We passed through what is called by the natives the region of tigers : the superstitious inhabitants of the surrounding country imagine that there is a stream in these parts, which when passed over by a human being, possesses the virtue of transforming him to that ferocious

animal, and on his return, of restoring him to his original shape. From this fabulous story we expected to find the woods infested with tigers; but to our astonishment we discovered nothing that could lead us to suppose that these animals had deserted the plains to take up their abode in the mountain. During the day we remarked the footsteps of the rhinoceros and the wild goat. Our two guides were employed as we proceeded in cutting the small and low branches, and notching the trunks of trees which grew in our path, in order to serve as marks on our return, to prevent the possibility of our wandering from the right course. Our ascent during the day was pretty gradual and regular; at intervals, however, this regularity was interrupted by abrupt acclivities of one hundred feet; and having gained the top of these the ascent became less steep, and in some places almost subsided into a plain. We passed over four of these Tanga Gunung\* to-day. Towards evening we found ourselves beyond the deep wood. The tall and majestic trees of the forest seemed suddenly to have vanished from our view, and those of a smaller and more sickly growth to have taken their place. The road became almost impassable on account of thorns and briars, which were so thickly interwoven as to present an almost insurmountable obstacle to our progress. The poor and exhausted Coolies with the greatest difficulty dragged their burdens through these formidable oppo-

\* So called by the natives; the term signifies *ladders of the mountain*.

nents : indeed we, who were not encumbered with any thing extraneous, could scarcely pass ; the naked bodies of our servants gushed with blood in every part, and our own clothes were torn off our backs. We ate nothing during the day excepting some of the fruit of the forests, called by the natives *buwah salak*. Night now came on apace, and we looked for a stream of water to enable us to prepare our evening fare, but none could we discover ; so we were obliged to content ourselves with a small quantity of muddy water, found in a hollow place made by some animal, which, from the traces in the neighbourhood, we supposed to be the rhinoceros.

“ Having rested a little from the fatigues of the day, in vain we looked for the plains we had left yesterday morning ; the face of the earth below was concealed from our sight ; clouds and darkness rolled under our feet. We found ourselves above the summit of the surrounding mountains ; and, for the first time in our lives, heard the thunder roll beneath us. The heavens above frowned, as in anger at the presumption of man daring to enter these ærial abodes ; and the roaring of the volcano at intervals impressed us with a kind of sacred awe, as if we had in reality approached the habitation of celestial beings. These were the only forerunners of the deluge which was to follow. The gloomy spot in which we were doomed to pass the night far surpassed the power of description. On the one side, the steep acclivity of the mountain ; on the other a deep precipice ; not a tree to afford us a covering or protection

from the threatening storm, and scarcely a bit of dry wood to light a fire. In this situation we were enveloped in total darkness. The thunder grew louder, the lightning more vivid, while the volcano above us continued its frightful roarings. At length the storm burst upon us in all its fury; our light and fire were suddenly extinguished, we were necessitated to eat in the dark a half-prepared meal. We then sat down to wait the holding up of the rain, but we soon lost all hope of a calm interval. The storm continued with unabated violence until near daylight. Fatigued by the arduous task of the day, and with little to eat, we would fain have relieved our troubles by sleep; but to sleep in our condition was certain death. Besides the rain which poured in at every part of our hut, the torrent which rushed down the mountain threatened to sweep us below. We wrapped ourselves up in blankets, but these were very soon soaked through; indeed we appeared to be sitting in the bed of a river, rather than on firm ground. The air was bitterly cold; our shivering people murmured loudly: we had never felt it so cold since we left England. If we attempted to talk or laugh, our guide, the Imam, in a tremulous voice, begged we would be silent, and not provoke the already angry gods. We asked whence proceeded the roarings we heard above us. Panglimo told us they came from the telago, or crater of the volcano, and desired we would ask no questions about this frightful place. Towards morning the rain in some degree abated, when Messrs. Church and Cudlipp

very imprudently went to sleep in the wet condition in which they were. Daylight at length made its appearance, and again the men attempted to light fires, which were most desirable; for, from the uncomfortable manner in which we passed the night, our followers were half dead with hunger, cold, and wet; and, indeed, although two of us had been accustomed to the severities of an European winter, we were all most happy to enjoy the comfort of a fire-side, even in the heart of Sumatra.

“*Oct. 29.*—Having partaken of a little unsavoury rice without even salt or chilies to render it palatable, we prepared for another day’s labour. From the difficulty we experienced yesterday in bringing the baggage as far as this, we conceived that greater obstacles lay before us. We therefore resolved to leave the Coolies and baggage in the hut, and proceeding unencumbered to the summit of the mountain, return if possible to the place where we slept the last night, before the close of the day, which our guide told us could be accomplished. We did not proceed far before we found that we were correct in regard to the difficulties we had anticipated: for now the ascent was steep, and the briars became thicker and more closely entwined together, so that it was an absolute impossibility to penetrate through them. Here we began to look on our object as unattainable: we unsuccessfully sought for some sort of path along which we might pass. The same insurmountable obstacles beset us on all sides, and no choice appeared to be left but to retrace our steps to the



hut : yet when we turned our heads and beheld the lofty summit above us, and volumes of dark smoke rolling on its dusky and naked top, we felt an irresistible desire to surmount every difficulty, and face every danger. Our progress being thus impeded, we could not help noticing the strange aspect of the scene around us ; the grand majestic trees of the forest, whose venerable trunks had withstood the shocks and storms of ages, no longer struck our eyes, but in their stead thorns and briars, and trees of a diminutive growth. What was most singular, all around us were seen the dead trunks of trees, some of which had attained to a large size and considerable height, standing erect without a single branch. All these trunks being black, as if burnt by lightning, we conceived it probable that some violent shock of nature, not far back, had reduced the former flourishing wood to its present blasted condition. Perhaps some recent eruption from the volcano might have produced this effect ; or might not noxious exhalations arising from the crater have checked, and nearly destroyed vegetation in this part ? We were sensible of a very strong smell of sulphur.

“It was now for the first time that we saw the stout-hearted Panglimo shrink from difficulty. The man who seemed calculated to perform the labours of Hercules, and who ever made it his boast that he had encountered danger in every shape, was the first to sound a retreat. ‘You see,’ said he, ‘the gods are not propitious to our undertaking :—they have shut up the road against us :—they

will bewilder us in this desert place :—we cannot proceed.’ We all appeared to incline to this advice, but each felt ashamed of a defeat. Again we endeavoured to penetrate the thick briers ; again Panglimo turned pale : ‘ It is vain to contend against the gods,’ he said, and sat down. I rallied him, and taking the sword, which now served as a pruning-hook, from his hand, endeavoured to cut through the brambles ; but their stems were so tough and closely interwoven that it made no impression. This was sufficient for Panglimo, who started up, and mounting with his naked feet upon the thorns, instead of forcing a passage through them, walked on the top ; we all followed him, and in this way proceeded, by slow degrees, for an hour or two. Having surmounted this formidable obstacle, we met with another not less discouraging. Instead of thorns and briers, we now had to walk over the trunks of trees, that were thrown down and piled on each other. They appeared to have lain in this state for a long time, for some were decayed, others decaying, and the whole covered over with a sort of vegetation which sprang from their mould.

“ We were two or three hours walking over these wrecks of the forests, at the imminent hazard of slipping through the interstices of the trunks, and thus of being buried alive, or else of breaking our bones. During the whole time we did not once set our foot on firm ground, or see the soil over which we were walking, nor by putting our sticks through could we reach the bottom. The vegetation of ages appeared to be piled up here in a widely-extended

and confused mass ; and we seemed to have approached the brink of general destruction and desolation. We found that we were on a ridge of the mountain ; on each side of us was a precipice of immense depth. The ridge grew narrower at every step. The day was bright, and looking down, the country immediately subjected to our view was beyond imagination beautiful ; extensive plains, scattered over with smoking villages : pools of water reflecting the rays of the sun ; to the north the Musi river, called by these people the sea of Musi. Having stayed a short time to contemplate this scene, we again set forward, and made another effort to gain the top of the mountain. Our path was now comparatively smooth. but of steep ascent ; we no longer found any of our former obstacles. The only vegetation on this part is a sort of shrub, very much resembling the box-tree : the natives call it *Kayu umur panjang*, or the tree of long life, and say it is only to be met with on the top of this mountain. The shrub is about six feet high, and appears to be checked in its growth. Its branches and leaves were covered with a kind of dust, which being shaken off as we passed along, proved very troublesome and disagreeable, almost choking us. We thought this rather singular, as the rain which fell the preceding night, if it had reached this part, ought to have entirely washed away the dust, but the earth appeared as dry as the trees. Although we had not, as I have just noticed, our former difficulties to encounter, we were not less affected by feelings of a different nature. Our path

had now become less than two fathoms wide, bounded by deep precipices, the bottom of which the eye could not penetrate, and whose naked sides filled us with terror, and narrowing at every step, we were threatened with being ingulphed in these unfathomable depths. We had now gained the summit of this narrow ridge; and disappointment was the only recompense we found for our troubles and difficulties, for our guide told us we had ascended the wrong ridge, and could not get to the crater, which was the grand object we had in view when we undertook the task; nor were we even on the highest part of the mountain, for the place where we stood was overtopped by Gunung Berapi: this was entirely bare, and might be three or four hundred feet above where we stood. Gunung Berapi is another peak of this great mountain. There are in all three, to which the natives give separate names, viz., Gunung Dempo, Gunung Lumut, and Gunung Berapi. Gunung Lumut we did not see, it being on the other side of Gunung Berapi; this last, as its name points out, is the one connected with the volcano. We were still doomed to disappointment; for the brightness of the day became overclouded, and nothing could be seen from this elevated situation but the tops of surrounding mountains, and a white mist at our feet, which, like a sheet, veiled from us the face of the earth. We now consulted whether we should make any further attempt to attain our object, but all agreed in the impossibility of succeeding: besides, we had not a grain of rice or other food with us, and only





another scanty meal left at the hut, which we must reach before night.

“Oct. 30.—If any thing, we passed a worse night than the one we have already described. We awoke at daylight, or rather did not sleep all night, on account of the wet and cold. Boat-cloaks and blankets were of no use; they were wet through in a few minutes, and only made our bodies more chilly. Having partaken of a half breakfast, we set forward on our return, retracing our footsteps, which were easily found by the marks and cuttings of the trees which were made on our ascent. The spot where we spent our last two nights is situated rather more than two-thirds up the mountain. Being tired of the woods, we resolved to make a forced march and reach the village of Sawah Batuhan before night. We stopped to take three specimens of the Krabut flower (*Rafflesia Arnoldi*), two full-blown, and one bud. As I have noticed before, the spot on which these extraordinary flowers grow is rather elevated. No part of the plant is seen above ground except the flower, which, decked in all the splendour of nature, bursts forth to light from a root which runs horizontally on the ground. The natives appeared not to be well acquainted with it, and gave us a confused account of it, from which we collected that there are two species of the krabut, one of which springs up into a shrub and bears flowers rather different from those which we now saw; in the other, no part except the flower makes its appearance above ground, without leaves and without stem.—About

two o'clock in the afternoon we reached the villages, thankful that we had once more extricated ourselves from such frightful wilds.

“As the above extracts from my journal will afford a pretty good idea of the sort of people we were among, and the difficulties we had to encounter, I shall not detain you with the details of our journey back to Manna, but attempt a general sketch of the country and inhabitants which we visited; noting only by the way that on our arrival at Tanjung Alam (the end of the world), many inquiries were made after Tuan Adam. Having no acquaintance with Adam, we were surprised at the entreaty and earnestness with which the inquiry was made; and it was some time before we found that Tuan Adam was no other personage than Madame Besar, or Lady Raffles, the name by which she is known to this people. Madame, it appears, was metamorphosed by them into Adam, a very pardonable mistake, considering that they look upon Adam as some very extraordinary person, and Lady Raffles as no less so, in having overcome such difficulties, and being the first European lady who had visited their country.

“The chief mountains in this neighbourhood, in the western range, are Gunung Dempo, Gunung Lumut, and Gunung Berapi, which form one great mountain, by far the highest in this part, being conspicuous over all the rest, and visible from Fort Marlborough, bearing from Manna N.N.E., and from Padang Guchei N. With regard to the height of this mountain, it would be but



mere conjecture if I were to estimate it at twelve or thirteen thousand feet above the level of the sea; but the eye is easily deceived, and not having been accustomed to judge of heights, I may be far from correct. We may perhaps judge something from the time we were ascending. We commenced about ten o'clock on the 27th of October; about half-past four we stopped for the night; at seven the next day we set forward again, and travelled till five o'clock; the following morning we recommenced at seven, and reached as far as we were able to go about half-past one o'clock, making altogether twenty-four hours. Allowances must be made for the badness of the roads, and the many impediments we met with in the last third part of our journey. Although we were so long in ascending, we were not more than ten hours in descending, having started at six from our hut, which we guessed to be two-thirds of the height of the mountain, we reached the foot at about four o'clock or past. The highest peak (Jambul Beniul) of the ranges which we passed over between the coast and Passumah Ulu Manna, did not occupy more than three or four hours, or scarcely so long. The temperature of the atmosphere on the top of this mountain was very low; although we discovered neither snow nor ice, yet from what some of the natives told us, we were led to think that both have been seen there. They related a story of three persons who were frozen to death, '*mati ka krasan*,' stiffened or hardened to

death. I cannot state the precise degree of temperature for want of a thermometer, though I should think Fahrenheit's would have been as low as thirty-five degrees before sunrise. We were informed by some of the natives, that within their memory the volcano, which now appears to be extinct, had been known to emit flames, covering the trees and lands of the adjacent country with white ashes. This emission was accompanied with a loud noise, that filled the whole country with alarm. The singular appearance of the trees near to the top of the mountain, mentioned in another place, gives some colour to this report; hence we may probably account for large trees being deprived of every branch, and the outer part of their trunks, the whole being too solid a substance to be entirely consumed, being burnt black as a cinder. But from the best information we could collect on the subject, it appears highly probable that the thick smoke seen to issue from the side of the mountain is an aqueous vapour arising from a hot spring, situated in the crater of the volcano. The water of this spring has a constant motion, sometimes greater, and sometimes less, alternately rising and sinking, and when this agitation is greatest, it is attended with the emission of a dark volume of smoke; this is immediately preceded by a loud noise resembling thunder, only of shorter duration. I have myself observed the smoke issuing forth at intervals of a few minutes, as if repeated explosions had taken place within the crater.—

Dempo is the only mountain in this part that is honoured with the epithet of Gunung, all the rest being called Bukit or hill.

“ We made inquiry respecting the large lake said to be situated somewhere in these parts, but could not learn that one existed. Perhaps the jealousy of the people might take care to conceal the knowledge of it from us.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ The people of Pasumah Lebar have traditionary reports of their descent from the Javanese. They relate that in the time of the prosperity of the kingdom of Majapahit, two persons, a brother and sister, with several followers, whose names and title they told me, but which I have now forgotten, left that kingdom, and landing on the eastern shores of this island, the female settled at Palembang, where, in a short time, she became a powerful princess; but the brother, travelling more inland from that place, settled himself in the fertile valley of Pasumah. In this way the country was first possessed and peopled; and hence the origin of the present race, which in many respects, I conceive, bears considerable analogy to the people of Java.

“ In their persons the inhabitants of Pasumah Lebar, generally speaking, are not so tall and robust as those of Pasumah Ulu Manna. This may be attributed to the difference of the climate, and mountainous situation of the latter, as more adapted to form a strong and robust frame

of body, than the level plains of the former. Their deportment is sedate and grave. The higher class are respectful and courteous in their manners. Their virtues are, perhaps, of a higher order than we meet with on the coast. Their hospitality to strangers is unbounded, and a violation of its law, in their estimation, would be little less than a crime of the greatest magnitude.

“ The lines are almost as applicable to them as to the Scottish Highlander :—

And stranger is a holy name ;  
Guidance and rest, and food and fire,  
In vain he never must require.

“ They are open and generous, and appear to be not destitute of that delicacy of feeling usually termed honour. Insult would be instantly repelled, and injury revenged, not by the secret dagger concealed under the screen of darkness, but publicly and in the face of day. They are chaste and temperate, of a bold and daring disposition, but passionate and hasty: with a strong attachment to their ancient customs, they look upon all innovation as a departure from truth and justice; they are extremely independent, and jealous of any infringement of their ancient liberties. They are industrious, and less infected with the vice of gambling than the Company's subjects. Opium smoking is unknown among them; they look upon that drug as poison. On the other hand, they have little regard for truth, and think but lightly of the violation of an oath. They have no regard to honesty or fairness of

dealing in their transactions, but make a merit of cheating. They are more warlike than the inhabitants of the coast, and are extremely dexterous in the use of their weapons. They cannot bear to hear the term *Coolie* applied to them, and absolutely refused to assist us in carrying our baggage under that name.

“They are very temperate in their diet, and seldom eat flesh of any kind. The buffalo, not being a native of their plains, is slain only on occasions of importance. Goat's flesh, although more plentiful, and fowls, which are abundant, are seldom eaten, except in their offerings to the gods. Swine's flesh is not eaten; but, besides this, they have few prejudices with regard to food. They are by no means delicate this way; and the entrails of the fowls killed for our dinner were eagerly picked up, and, after undergoing some preparations, greedily devoured.

“For this purpose they attended the cook daily in his culinary operations, to carry off every thing he threw away. They do not even scruple to eat the carcass of an animal found dead, although they know not how it came by its death: thus the carcass of the unfortunate horse that died in one of the villages was almost wholly devoured by them, and some declared they had made a hearty meal from it.

“The only inebriating drink made use of by them is a fermented liquor, prepared from rice, and termed *brum*: this is drunk only at festivals. They have the same aversion to milk, and every preparation from it, as the Java-

nese and other Eastern people. A chief being asked whether he would take milk with his tea, replied that he was not an infant.

“The villages are in general neat and clean, the houses well built, and not ill adapted for convenience. They are tolerably commodious and airy; many of them are constructed of plank, particularly those of the Chiefs, and are ornamented with carved work.

“Their language is not so much peculiar to themselves as the manner of pronouncing it: except in this, it differs little from that spoken in the interior of Manna. It has no words not to be found in languages of the neighbouring countries; in other respects it is the same as that spoken by the people on the coast from Sellibar to Kawa, where another dialect, and different usages, are found to commence, bearing a near resemblance to those of Lampung. The dialect of Serawi is also called Sambilan Lura, and includes the rivers of Sillabar, Angalum, Salumah, Tallo, Alas, Pino, Manna, Beneannon, and Padang Guchie, throughout which the same language and customs prevail. This last may be considered almost distinct from the Malayan. About one-fifth of it may consist of Malayan words, but the remaining four bear no affinity to that language. A native Malay, previously unacquainted with it, would not understand a conversation carried on between two persons in the Bhasa Serawi; but from the frequent intercourse between the people of the district already mentioned and the Malays, the language of the latter is

mutually understood. But to return to the Pasumahs, it is difficult even for a Serawi man to understand clearly what they say; this arises chiefly from the peculiar utterance given by them to their words, their sounds being more guttural. All the words, which, by the natives of the coast, are made to terminate in a simple *o*, by these people have a sound almost like *eu* or *eu**h*, as in the last syllable of *dieu*, but pronounced much longer and more forcibly; *e. g.*, the Malay word *kuda*, or, as pronounced by the natives of this Island, *kudo*, is by the Pasumahs called *kudeuh*, and *kata* or *kato*, *kateuh*; *maro*, or *marah*, *mareuh*. These people are not ignorant of writing. They use the characters which Mr. Marsden calls *Rejang*, but which are not peculiar to those people. The mode of writing is on pieces of split bamboo, on which they cut or scratch the letters with the point of a knife or *sewar*. They seldom use it but to send a message to a distant person, or to acquaint him with any piece of news: thus, for instance, a despairing swain inscribes his love verses (*pantuns*), and conveys them to his mistress. They have no written memorials of past transactions or events, nothing in the form of history, popular tales, or writings of any other kind, with the exception of a few forms of prayer used in their religious ceremonies.

“ In travelling through their villages, the first thing that strikes the eye of a stranger is the temple, a small square building, erected always in the centre of it. This proves, not only that they have a religion, but that they possess a

considerable degree of attachment to it. This religion is undoubtedly Hindu, with a slight admixture of Mahomedanism, which seems, at some time or other, to have made some progress among them. Circumcision is universally practised, and they manifest the same prejudice to swine's flesh that the professors of the Mahomedan religion do; but it is chiefly, nay almost entirely, in these particulars that the ceremonies and institutions of the one bear any resemblance to those of the other. It is rather remarkable that one tribe, called *Anack Semundo*, more strictly adheres to the tenets of the religion of Mahomet. They read the Koran, pray at the stated periods of the day, practise charity, which, according to the Mahomedans, consists entirely in giving alms, keep the puaso, or feast of Ramadan, with other observances of that religion. The head of this tribe is called Nabi Panghulu. Both the jujur and ambul anak marriages are very rare among them, the Semundo mode being almost exclusively adopted. But to return, although the greater part of the inhabitants of this country, as I have already said, are Pagans, they nevertheless worship neither idols nor external objects, neither have they any order of priesthood. They have no idea of one eternal Supreme Being, who made all things; although they frequently make use of the expression Allah Tuah, the term by which the Arabians express that idea, and, borrowing from the latter, which the Malays use to express the same idea; but the more ignorant Pasumah affixes no such meaning to it. Ask him what he means by it, and



he replies, it is one of the Dewas. In the mythology of these people, Dewas are the highest order of beings, whom they regard with superstitious reverence. They are looked upon as benignant spirits, whose influence is beneficial to the human race. These divinities listen to the prayers, and are pleased with the sacrifices offered to them by mortals. They know all that passes on earth; they have a general superintendence over mankind and all mundane affairs; the destinies of men are in their hands, and all events are at their disposal. To these benignant beings man is indebted for the principle of life, and this debt is continually increasing through every instant of his existence, for the preservation and maintenance of that principle within him. There appear to be orders and gradations of these beings; they are not all of the same importance to man. They have their abodes on the earth, and choose different parts of its surface for their habitations; some resort to the deepest and most gloomy woods and forests; some to hills and mountains; some preside over the rushing torrent, while others, delighted with the gentle murmurs of the limpid stream, retire to its shady banks. Particular trees are devoted to these deities: thus the sacred bringin tree, or the venerable banyan, spreads forth its shade in a peculiar manner, in order to shelter the sacred habitation of a Dewa; even the kalapogading (a variety of the cocoa-nut tree), in the opinion of these superstitious people, is under the benignant influ-

ence of a holy Dewa, who resides in its branches, and produces a more excellent sort of fruit.

“ But besides these there is another order of beings, whose influence is far less benignant. They are called Jins, or evil spirits, and are considered to be the authors of evil. All the misfortunes and calamities attendant on human life proceed from them. They likewise have their residence on different parts of the earth; and should a man by accident approach the unhallowed spot, he usually feels the anger of these resentful spirits.

“ There is still another class of beings, who, in regard to the qualities and attributes ascribed to them, appear to possess a middle rank between the Dewas and the Jins, approaching much nearer to the nature of the former. They are termed Orang Alus—that is, fine, impalpable, or invisible men. I do not know the precise office or nature of this fairy tribe. They seem to be a mixture of material and immaterial beings, partaking of the nature of men and spirits. I have seen a man who, it was said, was wedded to one of these Orang Alus. I concluded his children partook of the nature of their mother, for although he had a large family, nobody had ever seen one. The name of the man was Dupati Rajo Wani; in appearance he much resembled a wizard. Such are the ridiculous ideas of this people! But are they more gross than those entertained by the Greeks and Romans with regard to their deities?

“ The manes of their ancestors are held in the highest veneration, and are esteemed not inferior to the gods themselves. They suppose them to take concern in the welfare of their posterity, over whom they are always watchful. They have a strong regard and attachment to the spot where their forefathers were interred; and if Alexander the Great had penetrated into this quarter of the globe, and attempted to molest the natives in their woods and forests, they would have sent him the same reply that the ancient Scythians did. They have a strong persuasion in the doctrine of the metempsychosis, though, I believe, it is only particular animals which are allotted to the reception of the souls of the dead: nor need these, in temper and disposition, bear any resemblance to those of the persons while living whose souls are transfused into them. The tiger is the animal they look upon as most generally animated by a human soul. This is the reason why they regard that ferocious beast almost as sacred, and treat it with so much undeserved mildness and respect. Even when its jaws are polluted with human gore, a man cannot be prevailed on to kill it in order to prevent it from repeating its bloody feast. If a near relation have fallen its victim, he will perhaps be roused to revenge his death; yet sometimes, even in this, his superstitious prejudices and fears get the better of his ardent thirst for revenge.

“ When a man finds himself plunged in distress, and the dark clouds of adversity gathering over his head, he

repairs to the temple or *kramat*, there to propitiate the Dewas, and to invoke the manes of his ancestors to assist him under his sufferings. This is done by sacrificing a buffalo, a goat, or even a fowl, according to the urgency of the occasion, and by prayer and fasting. I have been told that some have remained in a state of fasting for fourteen days, during the whole of which time they have tasted not a morsel of food; a little quantity of water was allowed. Others have supported it for seven days, but two or three is the general period for this sort of holy penance. At this time they cannot be said to pray; part of the time being spent in silently lamenting their distress, and uttering a few words, the purport of which they do not understand. But the chief merit of this ceremony consists in calling upon their Dewas by their proper titles, and in due order; for each has its particular title and rank. They then repeat the names of their *nenek puyang*, or forefathers, and entreat them to deliver them from their existing difficulties. In the language of the country this mode of invoking the deities is termed *bertarak*, but it is chiefly in cases of the most pressing calamity that they have recourse to it: for instance, in the time of war, they frequently go through this austere ceremony in order to ensure success. As I have somewhere remarked, Gunung Dempu is looked upon as the sacred abode of the Dewas, and the souls of their ancestors occupy the regions of the mountains.”

## CHAPTER XII.

*Sir S. Raffles at Bencoolen—Proceeds to Padang—Is anxious to go to Menangkabu—Considered impracticable—Dangers represented—Determines to make the attempt—Difficulty of the road—Beauty of the country—Course up the river—Thermometer—Height of the mountain—Description of the Tiga Blas country and people—Cattle—Horses—Clothing of the people—Houses—View of the Lake of Sincara—Description of it—Town of Simawang—Country compared to that of Java—Arrival at Suruasa—Discovery of an inscription in the Kawi character—Description of Menangkabu—Hindu image similar to those of Java—Height of the city—Return to the Lake—Description of crossing it—Minerals—Vegetables—Agriculture—Return to Bencoolen—Death of Dr. Arnold.*

A MONTH was passed at Bencoolen in attending to the duties of the settlement. The only event which occurred was a successful attempt to cross the island from Bencoolen to Palembang. The following details are contained in the extract of a letter to Mr. Marsden:—

“ July, 1818.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I thought it would not be long before we found our way across the island. Finding it necessary to send a mission with a detachment of Sepoys to Palembang, I marched them across the hills, and have the pleasure to

inform you, that the party reached Muara Billiti on the Palembang river, where boats were in readiness to take them to Palembang in nine days from their leaving Bencoolen, without difficulty or casualty; not a sick man or a single want the whole way. They expected to reach Palembang in two days more, making eleven from their departure.

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*

“ I have, with Lady Raffles and Dr. Arnold, visited the Pasumah country, which is equal to anything in Java. We had the pleasure of spending three nights in the forests, and of sometimes walking thirty miles in the day; but we are now so accustomed to exploring, that we are not sensible of the fatigue.

“ I am building a bungalow on the first range of hills at the back of Bencoolen, on *Gunung Kabut*, the Hill of Mists, where we have a cool climate.

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*

“ I shall write you more fully by ‘The Lady Raffles.’ In the meantime, accept our united wishes for your health and happiness, and with kindest regards to Mrs. Marsden, believe me

“ T. S. RAFFLES.”

In the beginning of the month of July (1818), Sir Stamford embarked from Bencoolen to visit Padang, and if possible to obtain some information regarding the situation and circumstances of the ancient Malay city of

Menangkabu, which, from his love of Eastern literature, was an object of great interest to him.

The capital of Menangkabu, the jurisdiction of which in ancient times extended over the whole of Sumatra, was understood to be situated about eighty miles inland of Padang, beyond the western range of high mountains, and nearly in the centre of the Island. No European had ever visited the country, and but little was known of its constitution.

From his observations, and the information he collected at Padang, Sir Stamford was led to anticipate that in this inland government, whence all the Malayan states acknowledge to have derived their power, much civilization was to be discovered. The origin of the Malayan nation was of itself a question of interesting inquiry. The present state and condition of the seat of empire promised to throw light on the subject; and as it was uncertain how long Padang, the key to Menangkabu, might remain in the possession of the English, he was determined to attempt the enterprize.

Menangkabu had been famed since the earliest periods of history for the riches of its gold mines, its iron ores, and its mineral productions in general. It was from Menangkabu, and principally down the Siak, Sudragidi, and Sunda rivers, that the gold which traders found at Malacca in remote periods was carried. It was to the gold of Menangkabu that Malacca owed its designation of the golden Chersonesus, and navigators even distin-

guish in their charts to this day two mountains in its vicinity, called Mount Ophir, one in Sumatra to the west, the other on the peninsula of Malacca, but nearly in the same degree of latitude with the capital of Menangkabu, that is to say, under the equinoctial line. Sir Stamford wrote an account of this journey to his friends in England.

TO WM. MARSDEN, ESQ.

*“ Pageruyung, at the foot of Berapi, July 24, 1818,  
long. E., lat. 10° S.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I have the satisfaction to send you a few lines from this noted spot, to prove to you that I have not been idle since my arrival. Dr. Horsfield, who is with me, will carry home an account of our discoveries; and in the mean time it may be sufficient to inform you that at Suruasa I yesterday discovered two inscriptions in the *Kawi* character; and at Pageruyung, ten minutes ago, I met with a regular Hindu idol well sculptured in stone. Lady Raffles is by my side, and desires her kindest remembrances.”

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN AT SEA TO THE DUCHESS  
OF SOMERSET.

*“ Sept. 10th, 1818.*

“ On my arrival at Padang, I found that, notwithstanding the previous instructions I had given, no arrangements whatever had been made for facilitating the proposed journey into the interior. Here, as in a former



instance at Manna, when I proposed proceeding to Pasumah, the chief authority had taken upon himself, on the advice of the good folks of the place, to consider such an excursion as altogether impracticable, and to conclude that on my arrival I should myself be of the same opinion. I had, therefore, to summon the most intelligent European and native inhabitants, and to inform them of my determination. At first all was difficulty and impossibility. Besides physical obstructions, the whole of the interior was represented to be under the sway of Tuanku Pasaman, a religious reformer, who would undoubtedly cut me off without mercy or consideration : but when they found me positive, these difficulties and impossibilities gradually vanished; distances were estimated, and a route projected; letters were immediately sent off to the principal Chiefs of the interior, informing them of my approach, and in three days everything was ready for the journey.

“ Our first object was to send the baggage and provisions a-head. This party, which consisted of about two hundred Coolies, or porters, each man carrying his separate load; fifty military as an escort, and all our personal servants, left Padang on the afternoon of the 14th of July, by beat of drum, forming a most ridiculous cavalcade, the interest of which was much heightened by the quixotic appearance of my friend Dr. Horsfield, who was borne along on the shoulders of four of the party, in order that in preceding us he might gain time for botanizing.

“Thursday, the 16th, at daylight, was fixed our departure, but the rain during the whole of the night had been violent and incessant, and continued to fall so heavily that no one could move out of the house till after ten o'clock; the clouds then broke, and the native Chiefs who were to accompany us appeared; one and all declared the impossibility of our proceeding on that day: such had been the quantity and the violence of the rain, that the river of Padang had overflowed its banks; the bazaar or native town was three feet under water; all communication with the country was cut off; the long-boat of the Sunburry and another native boat had been lost in attempting to get out of the river: but as the weather cleared up by noon, and everything was arranged for departing, we were not inclined to be disappointed. At half-past twelve, therefore, we left the Residency, under a salute from the fort, accompanied by the Tuanku, or native Chief of the place, two Princes of Menangkabu, the principal native merchants, and about 300 followers.

“For the first part of the road we proceeded on horseback, but were soon obliged to dismount. We had scarcely passed the bazaar of Padang, when we had to swim our horses across a rapid stream, and in the course of three hours we had successively to cross at least twenty streams of the kind: over some we were carried in small canoes, over others we were borne on men's backs, and through some we boldly waded, for it was impossible to think of remaining free from wet. At length, we struck across the country

to the northward, over a fine plain of rice-fields, which, fortunately for us, were not in a state of cultivation. We had hardly got over our difficulties in crossing the numerous rivulets, when a heavy shower drenched us completely, and as there was every prospect of a wet night, we thought it best to look out for shelter, and accordingly, at half-past four, put up in the village of Campong Baru, where we remained housed for the night. We at first expected to have reached Lemau Manis, a small village at the foot of the mountains; but the rain coming on, we were content to satisfy ourselves with having got thus far, and accomplished the great object of *breaking ground*. Although we had been four hours on the road, we did not estimate our distance from Padang, in a direct line, at more than six miles. The country through which we had passed was populous, and generally well cultivated; many herds of cattle and buffaloes straying near the road; an appearance of plenty and content throughout; the villages seeming to occupy a very considerable extent, and to include orchards and plantations of various kinds. I notice these appearances, because they are not found to exist within the same distance of Bencoolen.

“ Just before reaching this village, I received an express from Dr. Horsfield, which, on account of its *encouraging* tenor, I shall transcribe.

“ ‘ MY DEAR SIR,

“ ‘ Your servants, Covrington and Siamee, have just arrived at Gedong Beo, with a report that one of the

Coolies was carried away by the stream, in attempting to cross the river ; we have had continued rain for twenty-four hours, by which the rivers are all greatly swelled. Covrington thinks it impossible that Lady Raffles can pursue the route. As for myself, I came in just before the rain. I must inform you that there are many difficult passages ; I should not, however, despair of your progress, as far as relates to yourself, but as for Lady Raffles, I almost doubt whether, in favourable weather, she could come on, as in many places a lady *cannot be carried* ; if it rains, doubtless, communication is stopped. The road passes through the bed of a stream, which rapidly swells after rains ; and if the rains continue, the natives are positively of opinion that the progress forwards or backwards is impeded. I do not wish to discourage you in the attempt, but it is my duty to inform you of what your servants have communicated to me, with a request to make it known to you as early as possible.

“ ‘ Yours, &c.

“ ‘ J. HORSFIELD.

“ ‘ P.S.—The further route towards *Tiga blas* is reckoned worse than that hither by far ; and large packages, as a table, &c., cannot be transported.

“ ‘ *Wednesday night.*’

“ This letter was poor comfort, considering that it continued to rain during the whole of the night.

“ *Friday 17th.*—As the sun rose the clouds dispersed, and, fully determined to overcome every obstacle, we

started from Campong Baru at seven; at half-past eight we reached *Lemau Manis*; about two miles from thence entered the forests, and at half-past eleven overtook Dr. Horsfield and the advanced party, at the Gedong Beo, or toll-post of Ayer Malentang, where we halted for the night. The first miracle wrought was to bring the dead to life, in the re-appearance of the Coolie, who was reported to have been lost: this poor fellow had truly enough been carried away by the flood, but having had the good sense to lay hold of the branch of a tree which overhung the river, he afterwards regained the rocks.

“ Our route from Campong Baru to Lemau Manis, and for about a mile beyond it, lay over a rich plain of sawas, or rice-fields, alternately rising above each other, till we brought the top of Padang hill on a line with the horizon; the soil extremely rich, and the country intersected by numerous streams; every indication of an extensive and industrious population; sheds, or *warongs*, as they are termed in Java, erected for the accommodation of travellers, at convenient distances; and here and there the vestige of a road, once passable for wheel-carriages. The vicinity of Lemau Manis affords several beautiful and commanding situations for the residence of Europeans; and should Padang remain permanently under the English flag, they would doubtless be immediately resorted to. The village itself is elevated above the sea about four hundred feet. This is called the Pau country, in which an interesting ceremony is understood to attend the annual

inundation of the rice-fields, by opening the embankments of the principal river. Lemau Manis is a long straggling village, or rather plantation, on the romantic banks of a rapid river, which discharges itself into the sea at Ujung Karang, and up the stream of which our further course lay. Here, as well as in several villages we had passed, we observed a considerable quantity of coffee growing under the shade of the large fruit-trees, and contiguous to the houses. Our arrival was welcomed by the beating of the great drum, or *tabu*, which has a place in every large village. This drum is peculiar: it is formed of the trunk of a large tree, and is at least twenty feet long, hollowed out, and suspended on a wooden frame, lying horizontally under an attap shed; one end only is covered with parchment.

“As the nature of our road, after entering the forest, has already been described in Dr. Horsfield’s letter, it will be only necessary to observe, that the violence of the current having abated, we found the route passable. The ascent was very moderate, but many passages along the sides of slippery rocks very unsafe. We had frequently to wade across the stream, and continually to leap, like a flock of goats, from rock to rock. The native traders secure their loads in a peculiar manner, by lashing them fast to a small frame, or stand, which is placed on the shoulder, and kept steady by being held with one hand while the leap is made.

The bed of the river afforded a fine opportunity for

collecting specimens of minerals ; those we observed were principally of volcanic origin. Dr. Horsfield noticed several plants entirely new to him.

“ Our course from Lemau Manis was about E.N.E., estimated distance from Campong Baru sixteen miles.

“ The barometer, at the toll-post where we slept, was  $28^{\circ} 55'$  ; the thermometer, in the morning,  $72^{\circ}$  ; at two o'clock P.M.,  $75^{\circ}$  ; in the evening, at eight,  $69^{\circ}$  ; our estimated height, above the level of the sea, fifteen hundred feet.

“ I shall not speak of the nature of the accommodation which we found at this and other toll-posts, further than by observing that they generally consist of one or more large sheds, for the reception of the native traders and travellers, who pay a small sum for being lodged during the night. Sometimes we had a small division of the shed to ourselves ; at other times we had not even this accommodation. When it rained, our whole party, consisting of not less than three hundred, was sometimes collected under one shed alone.

“ *Saturday, 18th.*—Having accomplished our journey thus far with less difficulty than we were at first prepared for, we set out this morning at about half-past seven in high spirits, but before we came to our resting-place for the night they were pretty well exhausted ; for, in consequence of some misapprehension in the party which had gone before us, we had to walk nearly twice the distance we had calculated upon, and this over the most fatiguing

road, with little or nothing to eat or drink. From the place where we had slept, our course continued up the bed of the river, but the ascent was much steeper, and the road far more difficult than on the preceding day. Rocks piled on rocks, in sublime confusion, roaring cataracts, and slippery precipices were now to be surmounted. Nothing could be more romantic and wild than the course which we had to pass; but in proportion as the scene was irregular and grand, the road was difficult and laborious, and ere we had reached the small station of Pulo Cepada about noon, we were completely wearied out. At this place we had directed that a small hut should be erected, where we might pass the night; but to our mortification we found that the party who had received these orders had previously proceeded farther on, and left us to follow them to a more convenient resting-place, said to be distant about five hours further walk. It was too late to remedy the evil, for even had we been able to keep out the rain, which now began to fall, we could not have remained. Not only our bedding and clothes, but the cook, with all our eatables and drinkables, had also gone a-head; we were therefore compelled to follow, and after resting about an hour, again set out. From this place we quitted the bed of the river, and ascended an extremely steep mountain (Gunung Dingin), the summit of which we reached with great difficulty at twenty minutes past four. Here the thermometer was sixty-three, the weather close and rainy; estimated height by the barometer five



thousand two hundred feet ; vegetation stunted, and the trees covered with moss. From the summit, our descent to the eastward was more gradual, but for the first hour principally through a very narrow channel of about two feet wide, and sometimes four and five feet deep, apparently cut as a pathway, but more calculated for a water-course, which in fact it had become, the water being in most places more than ankle deep. We continued descending till dark, when it was with difficulty and danger we could grope our way for a few yards. The night was extremely dark ; we were in the centre of a deep forest, through which the twinkling of a star could not be seen ; on either side of us were steep precipices of several hundred feet ; we had no one with us who knew the road ; it was impossible to distinguish it either by the sight or touch, and in this miserable predicament, without any thing to eat or drink (for we could not help agreeing, with Sancho, that this after all was the worst of the affair), and not knowing how far we had to go, about seven it began to rain pretty heavily. We then fired two or three guns, in the hope that the party a-head would hear us, and sent off the boldest of our followers in search of a light ; during the next hour we were continually tantalized by the appearances of lights, which no sooner approached than they receded, proving but the evanescent glare of the fire-fly, At last a steady light was seen at some distance through the depth of the forest ; a distant halloo answered our call, and we were relieved from our anxiety. With this

assistance we reached our destination at half-past eight, but many of our party did not get in till midnight; and several, giving way to despair, remained in the forest till the next morning.

“ Between the toll-post we had left and Pulo Chepada, we suddenly came down upon a small valley of about a mile in length, clear of forest, and covered with grass alone, along which a beautiful stream meandered on a fine bed of pebbles. This was represented to us to have but a few years since been the bed of a lake, one of the banks of which gave way during an earthquake: every appearance corroborated this fact.

“ Our abode for the night was on a detached hill, Bukit Batu, at the verge of the forest, the Gedung Beõ, or toll-post, a wretched shed, where people of all ranks were indiscriminately accommodated, but in which we found as substantial comfort and repose as we could have desired in a palace.

“ Our distance during this day of fatigue we estimated at not less than twenty miles; but we all agreed that we could have walked double that distance on level ground and good road with less labour.

“ From an opening in the forest, about five in the afternoon, we had our first view of Gunung Berapi, the Western Peak, emitting a volume of smoke, and bearing N. by W.

“ The estimated height of Bukit Batu by barometer is 3500 feet. The thermometer at daylight sixty-five.

The toll-post here is under *Ganton Chiri*, one of the *Tiga-blas Cotas*, and seems regulated on the same principle as that of Ayer Melangtang under Lemau Manis; each traveller pays a certain sum according to the goods he carries—if cloth, iron, or gold, a wang—if siri, and other inferior articles, a satali or half wang. They are all adapted for the general object intended, and afford evidence of the extent of the traffic carried on. We met several parties of traders crossing the country towards Padang.

“*Sunday, 19th.*—As we had now entered the limits of the Tiga-blas country, our further progress depended upon the good-will of the Chiefs, who are here entirely independent of European authority. It was intimated to us, that we should arrive at Solo Solaya, the intended termination of our present day’s journey, by eleven or twelve o’clock; and as we had scarcely recovered from the last day’s fatigue, we determined to breakfast before we moved. While partaking of this meal, several of the Chiefs of the Tiga-blas country were announced; and a party who stated themselves to be the representatives of two-thirds of that country were introduced. After the usual compliments, they proceeded to the business of their visit, and being informed of my wish to proceed without delay, very quietly stated that they had already taken the subject into consideration, that they had been discussing it since daylight, and had at last come to the resolution, that as they were only two-thirds of the Chiefs,

and the other third had not arrived, they would come to no decision at all, but proposed as an accommodation that I should remain where I was for three days, after which, a final decision should be immediately passed. This proposition I, of course, treated very lightly, and in a few words intimated my determination to proceed as soon as breakfast should be over. While the chiefs were deliberating upon what answer they should make, the arrival of the remaining third was announced, and the conference broke up, in order that a general consultation might be held. As soon as breakfast was over, I went out to see what was going on. The Chiefs, after sitting down in a circle, and debating for about an hour, arose, and the parties dispersed, in order that the newly-arrived Chiefs might think on the subject by themselves and advise with their followers. They accordingly adjourned to an opposite hill, on which several hundred people had collected. Here they continued in conference till ten o'clock, when finding there was no chance of a speedy termination, I ordered my party to be in readiness to move. We were no sooner in motion than the Chiefs again assembled in council, and it was requested that I would wait ten minutes longer; wanting the patience to do this, and determined at once to break through this tedious delay, to which it was to be feared we should be subjected in passing the boundary of every petty state, I walked into the middle of the circle, and demanded that they should say in one word what was required, on which the most respectable-looking man

among them answered *Sa tali sa paù*—that is to say, twenty dollars; the money was immediately tendered, we shook hands, the utmost cordiality and good understanding instantly prevailed, and we were permitted to proceed on our journey without further hesitation.

“It was now between ten and eleven o’clock: our course on the descent lay partly through a wood, and partly over several cleared hills, cultivated with coffee, indigo, &c. In about an hour after starting, the country opened; and we had the gratifying view of the Tiga-blas country, an extensive and highly cultivated plain, bounded to the south by the noble mountain of *Talang*.

“After descending the hills, and reaching the plain, our course lay entirely along the narrow ridges or embankments raised between the rice-fields until we reached the market-place, distinguished by several large waringin or banyan trees. Here we halted and partook of different kinds of fruits presented to us. In our course from *Bukit Batu* to the place, our party had been strengthened until it amounted to several thousands—the people of the country being collected at the different eminences near where we passed; they welcomed us as they joined, the throng, by the most discordant howls and cheers which can be well conceived. Arrived at the market-place, they formed an extensive circle several rows deep, the front row squatting; nearly the whole were armed with spears, and among them were some women. One old woman made herself very conspicuous by her attentions, and when a little alarm was

evinced by Lady Raffles, on account of the violence of the howling and cheering, she was the first to assure us no harm was meant ; it was only the way of the hill-people, who took this mode to show their delight, and how happy they were to see us. On the whole, I cannot well conceive anything more savage than the manners of this noisy party, from the time the Chiefs joined us until we left the market-place. It was evident they wished to give us an hospitable reception. \* \* \* I will only add, that before they suffered us to proceed beyond the market-place, a new consultation was held, which lasted more than half-an-hour, when another *douceur* became necessary. We then prosecuted our journey to the towns of Solo Solaya, which were considered as the first in rank of the Tiga-blas Cotas, and about four o'clock reached our destination. Here, after having been kept for half-an-hour in the Bali, or town-hall, we were accommodated in a very commodious planked house, which appeared to be the residence of one of the principal Chiefs.

“ Finding ourselves among a set of people who exhibited in their manners so much of the savage, we determined to keep our party close together, and whenever any general movement was made, to call in the aid of the drum and fife, which fortunately we had brought with us : this imperfect music, most wretchedly performed, seemed to have a great effect upon the people.

“ I have now once more led your Grace across the *Barisan*, or chain of mountains, which had hitherto so

effectually opposed the approach of Europeans to the rich and populous countries in the interior. In a former letter, I attempted to express the delight with which I first viewed the fertile valley of Pasumah, after spending three days in the forests. Here I was certainly prepared to find a country still more fertile and populous, and I was not disappointed. The whole of the plain, or valley, (I hardly know what to call it,) occupied by the *Tigas-blas Cotas*, or *Thirteen Confederate Towns*, is one sheet of cultivation: in breadth it may be about ten, and in length twenty miles, thickly studded with towns and villages, some of them running in a connected line for several miles; this was the case with the town of Solo Solaya, where we put up. The town of Solaya joins that of Solo, whence the Chiefs are usually denominated to be of Solo Solaya; a third town, called *Cola-baru*, is again only separated from these by a river: the whole are shaded by extensive groves of cocoa-nut trees.

“ On the slopes of the hills, the principal cultivation is coffee, indigo, maize, sugar-cane, and the oil-giving plants; on the plain below, almost exclusively rice. The sawas, or rice-fields, are here managed exactly on the principle of the mountain sawas in Java, and the soil and produce seem equally good. A fine breed of small cattle, which seems peculiar, abounds here and throughout the Menankabu country: oxen seem to be generally used in agriculture, in preference to buffaloes; they are in general about three feet four inches high, beautifully made, and

mostly of a light fawn colour, with black eyes and lashes, and are sold at from three to four dollars a-head. They are, without exception, the most beautiful little animals of the kind I ever beheld: we did not see one in bad condition. Horses, of which there seems to be plenty, are not much used: for a mare and foal the price was four dollars, twenty shillings.

“ On entering the country, we were struck by the costume of the people, which is now anything but Malay, the whole being clad according to the custom of the *Orang Putis*, or *Padris*, that is to say, in white or blue, with turbans, and allowing their beards to grow, in conformity with the ordinances of Tuanku Pasaman, the religious reformer. Unaccustomed to wear turbans, and by nature deficient in beard, these poor people make but a sorry appearance in their new costume. The women, who are also clad in white or blue cloth, do not appear to the best advantage in this new costume; many of them conceal their heads under a kind of hood, through which an opening is made sufficient to expose their eyes and nose alone; but we observed some general customs in their dress which are not perhaps attributable to the recent reformation. The women invariably wear their hair parted over the forehead, and combed smooth down the sides; and the children and young girls were frequently seen with their hair plaited down the back, after the manner of the Chinese. All the women have the lobe of the ear distended to an enormous extent, in order to



receive an immense ear-ring, or rather wheel, which it more resembles: this is usually about two inches in diameter, and differently ornamented; some are of wood, ornamented with silver, others of copper, &c.

“The people in general are by no means good-looking; neither in stature nor countenance do they equal the Pasumahs; they are decidedly a less ingenuous people; their manners, if anything, more rude and uncultivated; but their agriculture, their comforts, and their condition, certainly superior.

“*Monday, 20th.*—This day was spent at Solo Solaya. About noon I was ‘informed that all the Chiefs of the adjoining districts had assembled, and were desirous of a conference. In number they amounted to some hundreds, and I therefore requested they would select ten or twenty, with whom I could personally confer. After about an hour’s disputing, and when I found by their clamour that they were likely to separate in disorder, I was compelled to say I would confer with the whole of them, if they wished it. They accordingly assembled in the vicinity of the Bali, or town-hall; and having formed a circle, in which a place was reserved for me, I took my seat with all the state which circumstances admitted. The object of my visit was then inquired into, and the propriety of allowing the Dutch to return to Padang discussed with much vehemence, until one and all declared the Dutch never should return. To enforce this declaration, the foremost stuck their spears in the ground and set up a

shout. A letter was then written to the King of England, and signed by the principal Chiefs; and other agreements, of a political nature, entered into. A translation of the letter to the King of England I enclose to your Grace, as a political document of *high import*.

“ This business terminated, a general shout announced the conclusion of the conference. Each of the principal Chiefs was presented with a piece of British broad-cloth, three volleys of musketry were fired, and the drum and fife playing ‘ God save the King,’ they escorted me home, in the most ridiculous state that can be conceived.

“ The remainder of the day was passed in examining the town and making inquiries.

“ These towns I found had little to do with commerce; the inhabitants are almost exclusively devoted to agriculture; and to this cause the native merchants who were with me attributed the want of civilization among them. ‘ The people of those towns,’ said they, ‘ which lie on the road to the gold mines, and where they understand how to trade, are of very different manners: these people, though considering themselves as of most importance, have always been noted for their rude and obstinate behaviour.’ This account I had subsequently reason to believe was pretty correct. The Tiga-blas country has always been famed for its produce in gold; indeed, to Europeans it has been known as a gold country alone. To find it also in a high degree agricultural was more than I expected. Hitherto the country through which

we passed was exclusively volcanic ; the rocks for the most part basaltic ; a hot-spring, 108° of Fahrenheit, close to the town, and two burning mountains in sight ; no evidences of primitive formations ; no indications whatever of metals. We had therefore to look for the gold mines beyond the immediate confines of the Tiga-blas country ; and we soon ascertained the principal mines to be situated, some at two and three, and others as far as ten and twelve, days' journey distant, in a south-eastern direction. The principal mines are those of Sungy Pagu and Sungy Abu, which are marked on the map as lying at the back of Gunung Talang. On the extent and value of these mines I shall have occasion hereafter to make some observations ; for the present, I will confine myself more particularly to that part of the Tiga-blas country through which we passed.

“On entering the town of Solaya, we passed through the burial-ground, distinguished by a very large waringin-tree and several tombs built of wood, here termed *jiri* : these are peculiar, sometimes little more than a shed, but frequently with a raised flooring, and seats raised one above the other at each end, like the stern of a vessel. Several of these were observed outside of the town, and in the middle of the rice-fields : these, we were informed, had been raised in memory of persons who had died at a distance ; they now served as a shelter for the children, when watching the birds as the rice ripened, and as places of amusement for the younger branches of the family. The

waringin, or banyan trees, reminded me very much of Java; they are here even larger than any I ever observed in that country. Nothing in the vegetable creation can well exceed the peaceful grandeur of these trees.

“The houses are for the most part extensive and well built; in length seldom less than sixty feet; the interior, one long hall, with several small chambers in the rear opening into it. In the front of each house are generally two *lombongs*, or granaries, on the same principle as those in Java, but much longer and more substantial: they were not less than thirty feet high, and capable of holding an immense quantity; many of them were very highly ornamented, various flowers and figures being carved on the uprights and cross-beams; some of them coloured. The taste for ornament is not confined to the *lombongs*; the wood-work of most of the houses is carved, and coloured with red, white, and black. The ridge-poles of the houses, *lombongs*, &c., have a peculiar appearance, in being extremely concave, the ends or points of the crescent being very sharp. In the larger houses they give the appearance of two roofs, one crescent being, as it were, within another. The whole of the buildings are constructed in the most substantial manner, but entirely of wood and matting.

“In the evening, I was much amused by the return of the cattle from pasture. To every house there appeared attached several head of cattle: these came in, as the sun declined, of their own accord, and were severally secured

by the children and women, the cattle being quite as docile as those in Europe, in which respect they form a striking contrast to those on the coast, which are, for the most part, too wild to be approached.

“ Being anxious to refresh myself in the river which passed at the back of the town, I inquired for a convenient place to bathe: my intention was no sooner intimated, than the women of the village flocked round me, and insisted on accompanying me to the place; but, however great their curiosity, my modesty did not allow me to gratify it, and I was content to disappoint myself as well as them.

“ It is now, however, time to proceed on the journey, lest I tire you on the way.

“ *Tuesday, 21st.*—At day-light the drum was beaten, and every thing in readiness for our departure, when a serious difficulty was started. In the distribution of the presents the day before, it was stated that one piece of cloth had been stolen, and that the Chiefs of Solo had in consequence received one piece less than those of Solaya. This was represented as likely to be the occasion of a feud between the two people after my departure. I would willingly have given another piece of cloth, but I found the whole statement to be an imposition; for when I offered to do so, a new demur arose; the Chiefs of Solo came in a body, saying that I had slept two nights in Solaya, and not one in Solo; that I had therefore done more honour to the former; that the two towns had always maintained an equality, which was now lost, unless I would consent also

to stay two nights at Solo. This I represented to be impossible; the Chiefs of both towns had received me at the boundary, and it was left with them to conduct me whither they pleased; they took me to Solaya; the drum was now beating, and I must be off. I promised, however, to visit Solo on my return; but nothing would pacify them, and we had very nigh come to an open rupture. At last, I gave the piece of cloth to the Chiefs of Solo, and a written certificate that the important point should be regularly discussed after my return to Padang, where the Chiefs were invited to proceed, should any bad blood remain. At length, with the greatest difficulty, we got clear out of the town, and bent our course across the plain towards the Lake of Sincara, which we expected to reach in the course of the day.

“ During this day’s journey, which lay through one of the most highly cultivated countries I ever passed, we were subjected to several gross impositions. On first leaving Solo Solaya, we had to find our way without guides; but we had not proceeded many miles, when, on being at a loss which way to proceed, some men immediately came forward and offered their services as guides, provided we would pay them in the first instance; this we at first declined, but at length were forced to give in; but they no sooner got the money than they took an early opportunity to decamp. To our surprise, however, we soon fell in with the Chiefs of the towns which we had left; they had proceeded by a shorter route, and now pre-

sented themselves as guides. They did not, however, allow us to pursue our journey for more than a mile at a time without stopping to consult; and the whole country being raised as we proceeded, it was impossible for us to oppose their will. In this manner they detained us at least six or seven times in the course of two hours, nor would they allow us to proceed until we paid them a certain sum, by way of customs, for the liberty of passing through the country; all hands seemed determined to get something by us. At last, about half-past nine, we reached the termination of that part of the plain under the Tigablas Chiefs, who after making their last demand, insisted on our remaining half-an-hour, to see them exhibit in a tournament, to which we were obliged to submit, notwithstanding the excessive heat of the sun, from which we had no shelter. At ten o'clock we obtained a view of the lake, and about eleven we reached Kasi; at twelve we arrived at Sindangbaher, a populous town on the banks of the lake, where we remained for the night. Both here and at Kasi, we were received, comparatively, with politeness and attention: the people seemed to have some respect for authority, and it was evident they had the advantage of more general intercourse with strangers. We were, in the first instance, conducted to the large waringin-tree, under the shade of which the Chiefs and people assembled to receive us, and where cocoa-nuts and fruits were presented. At Kasi the most particular attention was paid to us, owing, most probably, to its being the native town of one

of the principal merchants who accompanied us, and who seemed to possess much influence here.

“ The town of Sindangbaher is situated about a mile from the banks of the lake, on a fine stream. The buildings, &c. are much in the same style as at Solo Solaya, but not so substantial or numerous, many of them having been burnt during the late civil war. But the most interesting object before us was the lake, across which our course lay to Menangkabu: of this an account will be given in the next day’s journey.

“ Of the country through which we had passed I shall only observe, that our course this day lay through the richest corn-fields, and frequently on the slope of a low range of hills on the western side of the plain. The fertility of the plain fully equalled any part of Java, and particularly about Kasi and in the vicinity of the lake, where the rice-fields evinced an uncommon luxuriance: they were here in full cultivation, the rice in all its stages, but chiefly in ear. The plain gradually narrowed as we approached the lake; and between the rice-fields under the Tiga-blas country, and those of Kasi, we passed an uncultivated tract, but even this was cleared, and covered with a short sod, affording excellent pasture for cattle, of which there were great abundance. Many parts reminded us of the beautiful district of Serayu, the pride of Java.

“ We estimated our journey this day at twelve miles, and Lady Raffles had the advantage of being carried a considerable part of the way in a chair, but in passing



through the rice-fields in cultivation, the embankments which formed the foot-paths were too narrow to admit of this aid.

“ We estimated the height of Sindangbaher, above the level of the sea, eleven hundred feet; that of Solo Solaya we also ascertained, by the barometer, to be twelve hundred feet: so that the plain gradually descends from Great Talang, its southern boundary to the lake, of the bed of which, in early days, it may probably have formed part, being bounded to the west by the high range of mountains, and to the east by the ranges of low hills, which in their continuation confine the waters of the lake as at present defined.

“ Of the population of the *Tiga-blas* country I shall hereafter have occasion to speak; and here it may only be necessary to notice, that from the best information I could obtain on the spot, we formed a loose estimate that it could not fall far short of eighty thousand souls.

“ The dawn of Wednesday found us on the banks of the lake, shipping our baggage, and embarking for Simawang. We should have started the preceding night, but the boats had not arrived; even now we had but one at our command, and in this we proceeded, leaving the heaviest part of the baggage, the escort, and coolies, to follow by land, should no other boat be procurable in the course of the day.

“ This beautiful sheet of water, called the Danau, or lake of Sincara, is about fourteen miles long, and on the

broadest part seven, surrounded by mountains and hills, except towards the Tiga-blas country, where a plain of its own width gradually sinks into its bosom. Proceeding northward, we had on our left the high mountains which form the Barisan or boundary of the sea-coast districts, in height from five to seven thousand feet, at the foot of which, on the margin of the lake for two or three miles deep, were rice-fields, plantations, and villages, rising successively above each other. On the sides of the mountains themselves, nearly to the summit of the first ridge, the forest had been cleared and cultivation carried. The opposite side, as well as the northern part of the lake, is confined by a succession of low hills, which in their constitution we found to be essentially different from the high volcanic ridges we had passed over, being primitive, and abounding in metals: among these the most conspicuous, and lying nearly north, was the Gunung Besi, or Hill of Iron, which from time immemorial has been the principal source whence these districts have been supplied with that metal. Behind these, a little to the westward, rises the Berapi, a grand volcanic mountain, emitting smoke from its western peak, and towering in the clouds to the height of at least ten thousand feet above the lake itself. Farther west, connecting its base with that of the Berapi, is the Gunung Sincalang, another insulated mountain, in height about eight thousand feet. To the eastward of Berapi, and nearly over Simawang, as we approached it we obtained a glimpse of the stupendous mountain of

Kasumba, the estimated height of which is not less than fifteen thousand feet. To the southward, the view was bounded by Gunung Talang, lying at the extremity of the Tiga-blas country, at the back of which we observed a ridge still higher than itself.

“ On the banks of the lake are situated seven principal towns with their numerous villages and hamlets: these being shaded by trees form so many groves, the dark foliage of which pleasingly contrasts with the bright tints of the rice plantations, in the middle of which they are situated. The beach is a bright sand, and cultivation immediately commences. At each of these towns a weekly market is held, to which the traders, &c. from the other towns and adjacent countries repair by water. The canoes are numerous, and each town has one or two large boats, capable of carrying six tons, and one hundred men: it was in one of these that we embarked. These large boats are well built, and at a distance, when filled with people, have very much the appearance of the large war-boats of the South Sea Islands. At a short distance from Sindangbahr, and where the lake was said to be by no means deep, we obtained bottom with a deep-sea lead at sixty-eight fathoms, but subsequently in attempting to ascertain the depth more in the centre, we found no bottom with one hundred and eighty fathoms. The shores are easy of access, and no rocks or shoals exist to obstruct its navigation. It abounds in fish, and the inhabitants pro-

cure lime by burning a small shell of the mussel kind found on its banks.

“ As we approached Simawang, a very peculiar hill, with three ragged peaks, was pointed out to us as lying immediately at the back of Pageruyong, the capital of the Menangkabu country. This hill, Gunung Bongso, will be hereafter noticed.

“ We had embarked at a quarter-past eight, it was now half-past one, when we landed at the foot of the hill on which Sanawang is situated, and at the source of the Kuantau or Indragiri river, which issues from the lake of Sincara at this place. We had a very hot and fatiguing walk for above an hour in ascending the hill, but were amply repaid for our labour by the friendly and cordial reception we met with at the summit, where the head of the village, a venerable old man, quietly conducted us into his dwelling, and made every preparation for our comfort without subjecting us to exposure under the waringin-tree, or any of the ridiculous and annoying ceremonies and delays to which we had in former instances been liable.

“ The house in which we were now accommodated was in length about one hundred feet, and from thirty to forty in depth, built in a most substantial manner, and supported along the centre by three large wooden pillars, fit for the masts of a ship: indeed, from the peculiar construction of the house, the gable end of which was raised

in tiers like the stern of a vessel, they had very much this appearance. The floor was raised from the ground about ten feet, the lower part being inclosed and appropriated to cattle, &c. The principal entrance is about the centre, but there is a second door at one end. The interior consists of one large room or hall, the height proportioned to the other dimensions; three fire-places, equally distant from each other, were placed on the front side, and at the back were several small chambers, in which we perceived the spinning-wheels and other articles belonging to the women. This may serve as a general description for the houses in this part of the country, which I have described thus particularly, because they differ essentially from those on the coast, and from what Mr. Marsden has described as the usual dwellings of the Sumatrans.

“ Notwithstanding the room in which we were accommodated was so commodious, we suffered more from the heat at this place than elsewhere, on account of the great number of people admitted, and the number of fires. That end of the hall which rose in tiers, like the stern of a ship, was set apart for Lady Raffles and me, and separated from the rest by mats. The number at one time accommodated in this caravansera did not fall short of a hundred-and-fifty persons.

“ As I must have pretty well tired your Grace with the detail of this day’s journey, I will close the account, and proceed to the next.

“ *Thursday, 23rd July.*—The town of Simawang oc-

cupies the summit of a hill elevated above the banks of the lake about five hundred feet, and commands a most beautiful prospect. Notwithstanding this elevation, there are hills in the vicinity of greater height, which give it the advantage of several streams. These are directed into numerous channels, and fertilize the country in the immediate vicinity, which is for the most part cut into terraces, and cultivated with rice. The river Ulu Kuantau, as it is here called, but which is the source of the Indragiri river, (which, after pursuing a south-easterly course across the country, discharges itself into the sea on the eastern side of the island,) is seen to issue from the lake at the foot of the hill, dashing with great rapidity over the rocks as it winds along the valley. The lake itself, serene and placid, insensible of the loss it sustains, is always the same. No sooner, however, are its waters withdrawn from its bosom, than they are made subservient to the purposes of man. Not fifty yards from the source of the river we observed a well-constructed water-wheel, by means of which the adjacent fields were irrigated. These wheels, which are composed principally of bamboo, are well adapted for their object. They are in general use in the Menangkabu country, and may be considered as an improvement in agriculture to which even the Javans have not advanced, notwithstanding their long connexion with the Chinese. As neither Europeans nor Chinese had hitherto penetrated the Menangkabu country, and the natives themselves, for many centuries at least, have

had little or no intercourse with foreigners, these wheels may be considered of native invention. I had formerly occasion to notice one on the Manna river, and in the Musi country I am told they are common. I do not recollect to have seen anything of the kind in Java.

“ On those slopes of the hills which cannot conveniently be cut into terraces, or where streams of water cannot be carried, sugar-cane is the principal article. Of this the cultivation is considerable, and very neatly constructed mills for expressing the juice, which is afterwards manufactured into a coarse sugar, are common. They consist of two perpendicular cylinders, the upper ends of which are formed into screws or grooves, which fit into each other so that the cylinders, which at the bottom are fixed into a stand, and are turned by an ox, revolve different ways. The expressed juice is received in a reservoir below.

“ It was near Simawang that we first found feldspar, granite, quartz, and other minerals of a primitive formation. They were here mixed with a variety of volcanic productions in the greatest confusion, strongly indicating that this part of the country had at some distant period been subjected to violent convulsions. Dr. Horsfield got specimens of these, which he gave in charge to some coolies who attended him; after the day's journey he wished to examine this collection; the men produced their baskets full of stones, but on the Doctor's exclaiming they were not what he had given them, and expressing some anger on the occasion, they simply observed, they thought he

only wanted stones, and they preferred carrying their baskets empty, so they threw away what he gave them, and filled them up at the end of the day's journey, and they were sure they had given him more than he collected.

“But to proceed on our journey. We were now in a country abounding with metals; iron ore of various kinds lay in our path, and it was not long before we were to be in the vicinity of the gold mines.

“We left Simawang at half-an-hour before seven, and reached Suruasa, the second city of the Menangkabu country, and in the immediate vicinity of Pageruyong, about one o'clock, the road nearly the whole way lying over a range of low primitive hills, and the distance about twelve miles. After descending the hill of Simawang, we crossed the river by a most romantic hanging bridge, which swung in a very nervous manner as we passed one by one. We soon came into a country entirely primitive, or rather composed of the *debris* of primitive matter; we passed over several hills, said to contain gold, and saw extensive excavations, where the miners had been at work; these, however, cannot be considered as regular mines, and they are not reckoned very valuable. The excavations, however, afforded us a fine opportunity of noticing the direction of the strata, and other appearances interesting to the geologist. About eleven o'clock we obtained our first view of Pageruyong.

“Shortly after this view our path, which had hitherto



been narrow, and sometimes steep and broken, widened, and it was evident we were approaching the vicinity of some place of importance: but, alas! little was left for our curiosity but the wreck of what had once been great and populous. The waringin trees, which shaded and added solemnity to the palace, were yet standing in all their majesty. The fruit-trees, and particularly the cocoa-nut, marked the distant boundaries of this once extensive city; but the rank grass had usurped the halls of the palace, and scarce was the thatch of the peasant to be found; three times has the city been committed to the flames. Well might I say, in the language of the Brata Yudha, ‘Sad and melancholy was her waringin tree, like unto the sorrow of a wife whose husband is afar.’

“On our arrival at Suruasa we were conducted to the best dwelling which the place now afforded—to the palace, a small planked house of about thirty feet long, beautifully situated on the banks of the Golden River (*Soongy Amas*.) Here we were introduced to the *Tuan Gadis*, or Virgin Queen, who administered the country. We were received with all the satisfaction and kindness that could be expected. It was a scene which made me melancholy, and I will not attempt to describe it.

“The extensive population and high state of cultivation by which we were surrounded, seemed to confirm the opinion I had always formed, and even publicly maintained, as you may see in my History of Java, that the Malayan empire was not of recent origin, and that in its zenith it

was of comparative rank, if not the rival and contemporary of Java. The Malays have always excited considerable speculation from the circumstance of their being evidently in a retrograde state; but where were we to look for their history? In their literary compositions they seldom go farther back than the introduction of Mahomedanism, except to give an account of Noah's ark, or some romantic tale from which little or nothing can be gathered. It was my good fortune in Java to discover the vestiges of a former high state of literature and the arts, in poems, in the ruins of temples, in sculptured images, in ancient inscriptions. Nothing of this kind was supposed to exist among the Malays; Java was therefore considered as the cradle of the arts and sciences, as far as they had been introduced into the Archipelago. The Malays were even stated to have derived their origin from Java, from the Javan word *Malayu*, meaning a runaway; they were said to be the runaways and outcasts of Java. You may see all this, and much more to the disadvantage of the Malays, stated in the Forty-first Number of the Edinburgh Review. Your Grace may therefore judge with what interest I now surveyed a country which, at least as far as the eye could reach, equalled Java in scenery and cultivation; and with what real satisfaction I stumbled, by the merest accident, upon nothing but an inscription in the real Kawi character, engraved on a stone, exactly after the manner of those which have excited so much interest in Java. Immediately opposite the house, or palace, which I have described, was

the mosque, a small square building. In front of the mosque, turned up on its edge, and serving as a stepping-stone to this modern place of Mahomedan worship, was this relic of Hindu dominion. I soon traced the characters to be the same as those we had discovered in Java. All hands were immediately collected. In about an hour we succeeded in laying the stone flat on the ground, and the operation of transcribing was immediately commenced. The evening did not pass without further inquiries. A second inscription, in similar characters, was discovered near the site of the former *kudam*, or palace. This was on a stone of irregular figure, and partly buried in the ground. We had only time to transcribe two lines of this. On Friday, the 24th of July, we left Suruasa at seven, and arrived at Pageruyong a quarter before nine, the estimated distance between the two cities being not more than two miles; the road over low hills, in which we observed numerous petrifications: whole forests would appear, in some remote age, to have been buried by some violent convulsion. Passing along the sides of the hills, our attention was repeatedly attracted by the numerous stumps and trunks of trees in a state of petrification. These were mostly protruded from considerable depths under ground.

“In quitting Suruasa we noticed several small tanks and passed over the site of many an extensive building now no more. The only vestige, however, of anything like sculpture, beyond the inscriptions already alluded to,

was in four cut stones, which evidently had formerly served for the entrance of the city.

“In approaching Pageruyong we had an excellent view of the situation of this once famous city. It is built, as I before noticed, at the foot, and partly on the slope of a steep and rugged hill called Gunug Bongso, so remarkable for its appearance and the three peaks which it exhibits. Below the town, under a precipice of from fifty to a hundred feet, in some parts nearly perpendicular, winds the beautiful stream of Selo, which, pursuing its course, passes Suruasa, where it takes the name of the Golden River, and finally falls into the river Indragiri. In front of the city rises the mountain Berapi, the summit of which may be about twenty miles distant. It is on the slopes of this mountain that the principal population is settled, the whole side of the mountain, for about fifteen miles from Pageruyong in every direction, being covered with villages and rice-fields. The entrance to the city, which is now only marked by a few venerable trees, and the traces of what was once a high-way, is nearly three-quarters of a mile before we came to the Bali and site of the former palace. Here little is left save the noble waringin trees, and these appear in several instances to have suffered from the action of fire: scarcely the appearance of a hut is to be seen; the large flat stone, however, on which the Sultan used to sit on days of public ceremony, was pointed out to us; and when the weeds had been partially cleared, the

royal burial-ground was discovered. In this we did not discover any inscription in the ancient character; but the ground was but very partially and hastily examined. We were struck, however, with the sculpture of later days, the memorials of the dead raised in Mahomedan times; these were on a small scale, but very beautifully executed.

“Arrangements had been made for our accommodation in a small house recently erected on the banks of the river, to which we descended. Here we remained for some time; but intending to return to Suruasa in the afternoon, I left the party and wandered for an hour or two.

“This city had shared the same fate with that of Suruasa. Three times had it been committed to the flames by a remorseless fanatic; twice had it again risen to something like splendour: from the last shock it had not yet recovered. The Prince, no longer able to make a stand against the oppressor, had fled to a distant retreat; and a few peasants now cultivated those spots which had formerly been the pleasure-grounds of the rich. Where the palace of the Sultan had stood, I observed a man planting cucumbers, and the sugar-cane occupied the place of the seraglio. From the heights of the town the view stretched to the north and west, as far as the summit of the mountain of Berapi and the neighbouring hills. The whole country, from Pageruyong, as far as the eye could distinctly trace, was one continued scene of cultivation, interspersed with innumerable towns and villages.

shaded by the cocoa-nut and other fruit-trees. I may safely say, that this view equalled anything I ever saw in Java; the scenery is more majestic and grand, population equally dense, cultivation equally rich. In a comparison with the plain of Matarun, the richest part of Java, I think it would rise. Here, then, for the first time, was I able to trace the source of that power, the origin of that nation, so extensively scattered over the Eastern Archipelago.

“I returned to the party where the Tuan Gadis and Princes of the house of Menangkabu had assembled. A royal salute of *one* gun was fired, and after three cheers, we set out on our return to Suruasa.

“But I must not quit this (to a Malay) classic ground, without informing you of a most interesting discovery. At Suruasa I had discovered two inscriptions: here I looked for them in vain, but unexpectedly stumbled upon something no less interesting: a Hindu image, chastely and beautifully carved, corresponding with those discovered in Java, and evidently the work of similar artists, and the object of a similar worship. This image was mutilated, but in sufficient preservation to decide thus much.

“The estimated height of Pageruyong above the level of the sea is 1800 feet. In Mr. Marsden’s map, Pageruyong is placed at about eighty-two miles N. E. of Padang, and sixty-six from the coast. By our observations we found it to be not more than fifty miles from

Padang, and forty-five from the coast, in a straight line; the latitude being 14' south, and longitude twenty-eight miles east of Padang, or 100° 20' east of Greenwich.

“ We returned to Suruasa about three o'clock, and in the evening I visited an extensive excavation where gold had been procured in considerable quantities.

“ On the next day, Saturday the 25th, we left Suruasa at half-past six, and reached Simawang on our return towards Padang, at half-past eleven. Here we remained till Sunday evening, when, to be prepared for an early departure on the next morning, we descended to the lake and bivouacked on the banks for the night, literally lying down on the ground. While collecting specimens of minerals on this spot, I discovered another inscription in the Kawi character, the characters of which were nearly obliterated by the constant action of the water. This stone was lying among the rocks over which the waters of the lake fell into the Indragiri river.

“ *Monday.*—The baggage having been embarked on the preceding evening, we rose at four, and by day-light were nearly half-way across the lake; four large boats in company, which conveyed the whole of the party.

“ Besides the pass into the Tiga-blas country, by which we had passed from Padang, there are three other principal passes leading to the Menangkabu country, at Kati, Sindangbaher, and Paningahan; that at Sindangbaher, called the Sri-menenti, (the same term that is used in Java for the entrance to the palace,) appeared to be

the most frequented, but the road was said to lie along the beds of several rivers: that of Kasi had nothing particular to recommend it; but the pass of Paningahan, though the longest, was said to be the most practicable for cattle, and to run principally on dry ground. I therefore determined to proceed by the last, in the hope of tracing something like a road which would admit of improvement.

“ We accordingly quitted Paningahan on our return across the Barisen about eight o'clock, and reached the Gedong Papan, or planked-house (a toll-post), about twelve. Contrary to our expectation, our course so far lay almost entirely along the bed of a rapid stream. Lady Raffles being fatigued, we rested at this place for the night; but several of the party went on to the next resting-place. The ascent hitherto had been gradual, and the scenery very romantic, the distance from the lake estimated at six miles in a south-west direction. In a mineralogical point of view, this ascent from the lake was by far the most interesting we had met with. We here found abundance of granite, marble, great varieties of limestone, beautiful masses of calcareous spar, and a variety of subjects with which we enriched our collection.

“ *Tuesday, 28th July.*—Left the Gedong Papan at six, and ascended the mountains, our course being near the banks of a rapid stream which we frequently crossed for the whole of the morning. At half-past nine reached



another toll-post, where we overtook the advanced party and obtained some refreshment: set out again at eleven, and continued ascending till three o'clock, when we reached the summit of the highest ridge. The thermometer was here sixty-six—on the water, sixty-three: height above the level of the sea, four thousand five hundred feet. We now descended till six, when, just as the day was closing in, we reached the toll-post of Sambung, after a most fatiguing day's journey. The road was execrable, in some parts wet and muddy, and exceedingly difficult to pass—estimated distance from the Gedong Papan not less than twenty miles.

“ *Wednesday, 29th.*—Started from Sambung at seven in the morning, and ascended the Sambung mountain until near ten, when we had the satisfaction to find that the remainder of our journey was a descent down to the sea-side. The road, however, was even worse than what we had passed the day before, the descent being very rapid, and the only firm hold which our feet could have being upon the roots of trees, which intersected the path in every direction, and from which the earth had been washed away. In many places this path was knee-deep in mud for a considerable distance, and we could only pass by stepping from root to root. This was even more fatiguing than leaping from rock to rock, and our shoes being soaked through, our feet soon became so tender that it was with real pain we moved on: every step, on account of the steep descent, was a strain to the muscles of the

leg, and a wound or blow to the foot. The people on this road carry their load in a very different manner to that described on the road to the Tiga-blas country. Here the load is lashed to a kind of frame or cradle, and elevated to a considerable distance above the head, the lower part of the frame being fastened round the head and shoulders. It was proposed that Lady Raffles should be carried in this manner, but we could not reconcile her to the attempt. Salt, rice, &c., in loads of about fifty and sixty pounds, are carried in this manner. At length, at about two o'clock, we once more got a view of the sea from a place called Liring, where a small shed was erected, and where the forest in some degree was cleared. From this spot the country gradually opened; and we descended by a tolerably good road, passable for horses, through a country which had once been cleared, and was still partially under cultivation. At five obtained a view of Padang Hill, bearing south by west, distance about ten miles; in half an hour more arrived at Pinang, a comfortable hut, where we remained for the night. Here we received fresh supplies from Padang, and found our horses, which had been sent on to meet us. Our distance this day we estimated at about sixteen miles: we were now out of the forest, and nearly at the bottom of the hills on the sea-side.

“ *Thursday, 30th.*—Started at day-light, and proceeded partly on horseback and partly on foot; our course towards the sea for about six miles, the latter part of which

was through a fine plain of rice-fields, and along the banks of a rapid stream. Pursuing our journey to Padang through Cota Tinga and along the sea-shore, we had to pass the mouths of two rivers, which, in consequence of the rain that had fallen during the night, were not fordable; we were in consequence soon wet through. Near Ujung Carang, however, the gentlemen from Padang had assembled to receive us on our return, and a buggy being provided, we reached Padang without further difficulty at about noon; having thus completed our journey in fourteen days, during which we had traversed, in a straight line, about one hundred and forty, and by the course we were compelled to pursue, not less than two hundred and fifty miles, over one of the worst roads that perhaps ever was passed by man.

“What may be the eventual results of this journey, it is impossible to say. In natural history, it has afforded us a very interesting insight into the mineral kingdom. We have traced the junction of the volcanic with the primitive series; and, by the evidences afforded in our collections, are enabled to estimate the mineral resources of the country. In the vegetable kingdom we discovered no less than forty-one plants, which appeared to Dr. Horsfield entirely new, and certainly not contained in the Flora of Java. The different elevations above the sea were ascertained, some by barometrical, others by trigonometrical observations—the latitudes and longitudes fixed, partly by observation and partly by dead reckon-

ing. By crossing the range of mountains at different passes we clearly ascertained that there are three ridges, the central being the highest.

“ The discovery of an extensively populous and highly agricultural country cannot fail to be interesting. On a moderate calculation, the population, within a range of fifty miles round Pageruyong, cannot be estimated at less than a million; by the returns I received on the spot, the number appears more considerable. Throughout the whole of our journey I did not observe a single Ladang, that migratory kind of cultivation so accurately described by Mr. Marsden, and so universal near the southern coast; it had long been superseded by the conversion of the land into regular sawas, and the establishment of fixed property in the soil; manufactories also are here more advanced. Menangkabu has always been famed for its cris blades. Iron has been worked from time immemorial. An extensive manufactory of coarse pottery near the banks of the lake supplies not only Padang but Bencoolen with that useful article.

“ Politically the greatest results may accrue. At no very distant date the sovereignty of Menangkabu was acknowledged over the whole of Sumatra, and its influence extended to many of the neighbouring Islands; the respect still paid to its princes by all ranks, amounts almost to veneration. By upholding their authority, a central government may easily be established; and the numerous petty states, now disunited and barbarous, may

be again connected under one general system of government. The rivers which fall into the Eastern Archipelago may again become the high roads to and from the central capital; and Sumatra, under British influence, again rise into great political importance."

One or two anecdotes of the natives may be added to the above. When the people of the Tiga-blas country first beheld the Editor, they seemed to be struck with amazement, and the question was not, *who* is that? but, *what* is that? The disguise of dress, and, to them, the extraordinary appearance of fairness were unaccountable. With all the wonder of ignorance they immediately conceived that there must be something supernatural; and mothers pressed in crowds, imploring to have their children touched as a preservative from all future evil. It was in vain to urge fatigue, to entreat to be excused; no one liked to lose so easy an opportunity of insuring future good, and the noise, the pressure, and confusion were not a little amusing; when one crowd was satisfied, a fresh collected, and it would be difficult to guess the number on whom was bestowed this slight but coveted act of kindness. At Solaya the Editor was left alone in a native house, with a sepoy stationed as a sentry at the door to keep the people away; but they collected in such numbers that they overpowered him, and hundreds rushed into the house to gaze and express their astonishment. After this had been endured for a length of time, they were entreated to retire and allow some repose to be

taken. With one accord they seated themselves in a moment, saying, of all things they should like to see the mode of sleeping, and that they would watch all the time, and only sit and look ; and no entreaty could prevail upon them to go away, so there they remained until the rest of the party returned from the assembly of the Chiefs. On reaching Simawang the same thing was repeated, the same curiosity and wonder ; crowds assembled to see how the Editor took food, and during the night strange dark faces were continually seen peeping through the curtain which parted off her place of rest from the numerous inmates of the same room.

TO MR. MARSDEN.

*Bencoolen, August 15, 1818.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ My last letter was from Pageruyong ; and you will be happy to hear that we are again safe at Bencoolen, without having suffered any serious injury from the fatigues of the journey. We were absent from Padang fifteen days ; and our course in the map was, in a straight line, about one hundred and forty miles. For the details of our journey I refer you to Dr. Horsfield, who will be the bearer of this, and to whom, independently of his claims as a man of science and research, I have to request your kind attention as my particular friend.

“ To Dr. Horsfield I have entrusted a sketch of our route ; in his I have corrected the situation of Pageruyong,

which is a few miles different to what I stated in my letter from thence. I do not think we can be much out; perhaps you will be induced to consider it sufficient authority for correcting the map. On this subject I am anxious to hear from you. I have now an establishment in two parts of the interior of Menangkabu and inland of Bencoolen, and I have some idea of traversing the central districts from one end of the Island to the other. Do you contemplate the publication of any improved additions to your map? or shall I keep the observations here until I can frame a new one? I mention this because we are badly off for draftsmen; and under the existing regulations of the post-office you may have trouble in securing the detailed surveys sent as they are made.

“ You will be gratified to hear that the neighbourhood of Pageruyong contains a population of certainly not less than a million; that agriculture is nearly as advanced as in Java; and that in soil and climate we have reason to believe Sumatra is fully equal to that island. The first fruits of our establishment in the hills have been the regular supply of Bencoolen with potatoes, which hitherto have been imported.

“ Our discoveries in Menangkabu enhance the value of Padang town; it is the key of that place, and of all which is valuable in Sumatra. Without this we can do nothing—with it every thing. The measures which I have taken will, no doubt, be considered strong; but our interests have been so shamefully sacrificed, that I could do nothing

less. Nothing but definite arrangements in Europe will place things on their proper footing.

“ I have to report to you two melancholy losses which we have sustained. Poor Dr. Arnold, our naturalist, died of a fever, occasioned, I fear, from the fatigues of our journey to Pasumah; and accounts were yesterday received of the death of Mr. Holloway at sea.

“ I send by Dr. Horsfield a *fac-simile* of one of the inscriptions which I found at Suruasa. The stone to which you allude as remarkable near Pnaman, turns out to be modern, and a vestige of Dutch authority.”

TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

“ *Fort Marlborough, August 16, 1818.*

“ My last letter to your Grace was from on board ‘The Lady Raffles,’ on our return from Padang and Menangkabu; and I did hope, before the ship left us finally for England, that I should have been able to give you a detail of our subsequent proceedings; but this is impossible, and I must be content to send her off with a few lines, saying we are all well.

“ We are now tolerably quiet, but the earth continued to quake for the first month after our arrival, and we were seldom without one or two shocks in the day. The sensation, particularly during the night, is very unpleasant.

“ We are going on, I am happy to say, very well; our dear little Charlotte daily improving, and promising to be every thing we could wish. Lady Raffles is quite well,



notwithstanding the excessive fatigue of the journeys we have taken; the last occupied fifteen days, and we did not walk less than two hundred and fifty miles over the very worst route, for road there was none; at first, up the bed of a river, where we had to force our way by leaping from rock to rock; then for some days over hills covered with forest, and the roots of the trees, which projected far above the ground, our only foot-path; the ascent sometimes so steep, that Lady Raffles was obliged to be dragged up by two men, being often so fatigued she could not raise her foot the length of the step, having to walk some days from day-light, with one hour's rest at mid-day, when the only refreshment to be obtained was a little rice and wine, until eight o'clock at night, before we reached the shed prepared for our night's lodging."

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*[Faint, illegible handwriting in cursive script, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]*

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